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INTRODUCTION

BY

THE NEW EDITOR IN CHIEF

In the final issue of the last volume Dr. DOEVE, the secretary of the Editorial Board, announced that I had been pleased to accept the invitation of the Editorial Board and of our publisher, Brill, to succeed my distinguished mentor, the late Professor DE ZWAAN. I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my thanks for the confidence shown in me by this invitation.

Before agreeing to accept, I gave a great deal of thought to the question raised by my colleague from Basle, Professor OSCAR CULLMANN, in his article: *Ist eine dritte neutestamentliche Zeitschrift notwendig?* (*Theol. Lit. Zeit.* 1957, 1). His call for a consolidation of forces and his warning against disintergration deserves our attention; the dangers he describes are not imaginary. Yet I think that now, after a lapse of two years, his question may be answered in the affirmative.

The curious coincidence that "New Testament Studies" and "Novum Testamentum" were first published shortly after one and other, and how this came about, need not be elaborated here. But time has proved that there is room for both periodicals to exist alongside others mentioned by Professor CULLMANN. I consider it a good omen that personal friendship unites me with the Editors of the other periodicals. I am sure that this friendship which opens up the way for mutual consultation can be of great benefit to an interchange of ideas and to the furthering of the New Testament studies that mean so much to us all.

The extension of possibilities for publication that is offered by this periodical is at the present time by no means a luxury. Ever since the second world war there has been an encouraging revival of interest in the New Testament and related fields of study. This has been greatly stimulated by the foundation of the "Society for New Testament Studies". We may also mention the immense interest shown in biblical studies by the Roman Catholic Church, particularly since the important encyclic "Divino afllante

Spiritu", and the heartening collaboration between Roman Catholic scholars and their colleagues from other churches. Last but not least, there are the new discoveries such as the Qumran and Nag-Hammadi which have opened up new fields for research, of which we cannot see the end. There is no section of New Testament studies from textual criticism to biblical theology that is not humming with activity.

The prospects, as far as they can be estimated at all, are such that this tendency will increase rather than decrease. If one compares the present situation with that prevailing thirty years ago, it is obvious that there has been an increase in the number of New Testament scholars in many countries on both sides of the Atlantic. While in future, it may be assumed, a place will have to be found for contributors from the so-called "young churches", who will be requesting a hearing.

Even now there is frequently no opportunity for publishing the results of research work. When I read the interesting surveys of type-written dissertations in the *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* or hear of theses written at American universities, only to be interred in a few libraries, I often regret the fact that all this work is not made accessible to a wider circle of readers, even if only in an abridged form, and that it is with its present limited circulation virtually useless. If work of this kind cannot be reproduced in its entirety in book-form, the most vital sections of it should at least be published in periodicals.

In addition to these more general considerations I should like to draw attention to another aspect of the matter. The Editorial Board will most certainly do everything in its power to give "Novum Testamentum" what Professor CULLMANN calls "a character of its own". Naturally it is impossible to reveal here all the plans the Editors have for the realization of this, but the following points may be mentioned.

In the first place there is, in our opinion, an urgent demand for surveys of the literature available in the field of New Testament studies, surveys that deal not only with one single publication, but that review the state of affairs in a particular field of study, indicating the changes that have taken place, the progress made over a period of years, and the aspects that have been neglected. In this first issue of the third volume Dr. A. F. J. KLIJN gives an example of what is meant with respect to the problem of the

"Western Text". There is virtually no one any longer, who can cover all the various facets of New Testament studies. We need the support of authorities who can report at regular intervals on how matters stand in their own field. Of equal importance are surveys of literature that has not appeared in one or other of the major languages. Valuable research work often remains unknown because it has not been published in a language accessible to everybody.

Secondly, we must not forget all the work done on the periphery of New Testament studies, such as that concerned with the Rabbinica, classical archaeology, philology, the Septuagint, etc. It is of vital importance to the New Testament scholar to be able to remain up-to-date on what is going on in these fields and on new discoveries that have a bearing on his own special subject.

Thirdly, I should like to mention the work being done on the "Corpus Hellenisticum". As may be seen from reports made by Professor ALAND and myself, the immense task of compiling a "new Wettstein", which was suspended at the death of Professor E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ, was resumed in 1955 in the hope that it would finally be completed by a collaboration between the research centres of Halle and Utrecht, where work is being done on the judeo-hellenisticum and pagano-hellenisticum corpus respectively. But for such a task an organ is needed that will play a similar part to the one so long played by the well-known series "Texte und Untersuchungen" with regard to the publications of the Greek Fathers of the Church. In such an organ interim and partial findings can be published, and questions discussed in greater detail than will be possible in the necessarily more concise final edition. Everyone who understands the significance of the work being done for the "Corpus Hellenisticum" will realize the urgent need for a place where preparatory studies can be published.

Grateful for the support and co-operation shown to "Novum Testamentum" in the past, we feel able to face the future with confidence. We hope that an end will soon be made to the difficulties which have in the past prevented a regular quarterly publication of the periodical. I am accepting my editorial task with the hertfelt desire that in collaboration with all those who are striving towards the same goal it may be of service in the furthering of New Testament studies.

W. C. VAN UNNIK

A SURVEY OF THE RESEARCHES INTO THE WESTERN TEXT OF THE GOSPELS AND ACTS

(1949-1959)

BY

A. F. J. KLIJN
Utrecht

In this and the following articles we are going to survey the development of the researches into the western text of the gospels and acts during the last ten years. This survey is meant to be a sequel to my book published in 1949 entitled: *A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts* [1]), dealing with a period from the sixteenth century up to 1949.

1. The Position of the Inquiry ca 1949.

Before going into the subject proper we shall first try to trace the position of the inquiries into the problem of the western text about the year 1949.

At first the western text was only known from the bilingual greek-latin Ms D, the old latin and old syriac. During the last fifty years textual critics became aware that readings identical to those found in these Mss are also found in papyri discovered in Egypt, quotations in early ecclesiastical authors and secondary versions like the armenian and georgian. But not only in early Mss are these readings to be found, they also appeared to be present in rather late Mss like fam. 1 and 13.

As these western readings are so widespread it has been necessary to make extensive inquiries into the history of this phenomenon.

Regarding this inquiry we notice a tendency to split up the different representatives of this text in three main groups:

A. The old latin and old syriac version among which is reckoned the diatessaron in its manifold forms.

---

[1]) Utrecht 1949.

B. The old-egyptian text, also called pre-caesarean among which are reckoned rather late Mss like fam. 1 and 13, but also very old papyri like P^{45} and P^{66}.

C. The so-called caesarean text related with Eusebius and Origen represented by θ, 565 and 700 [1]).

The secondary translations like the armenian and georgian were supposed to be influenced by both the diatessaron and the caesarean text [2]).

The partition of the western text is giving a number of difficulties. With regard to group A it could not be said that a general agreement was reached about the relation between old latin, old syriac and the diatessaron. Some scholars were supposing an influence from the diat. on the other two texts, others were not able to accept this view [3]).

With regard to B may be said that here a number of Mss were brought together showing a striking heterogeneous nature. The real background of these Mss was not quite known.

With regard to C we may say that the caesarean text was generally speaking only known in Mk. The quotations in Eus. and Or. still demanded an extensive inquiry. The nature of this text was still a matter of dispute. It could be an independent text, but it could also be a western text influenced by a neutral or a neutral text influenced by a western text [4]). In addition to this the problem of the quantity of byzantine influence on late Mss like f 1 and 13 proved a stumbling block every time one was working on this text.

Also the relation between the three groups had not quite been solved. Western readings in the pre-caesarean text compared with the alexandrian text now and then show agreement with the old syriac and the diatessaron [5]). The relations were not clear at all. This relation may be due to Tatian having used a caesarean text in composing the diatessaron, but it is also possible that the diatessaron influenced the caesarean text.

About the relation between the caesarean text and the pre-caesarean text not much was to be said. Sometimes one spoke of a revision [1], but when and where this revision took place could not be said.

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[1]) See K. and S. LAKE, *Family* 13 (*The Ferrar Group*), in: *Studies and Doc*. XI, London-Philadelphia 1941, p. 7-8 and B. M. METZGER, *The Caesarean Text of the Gospels*, in: *J.B.L.* LXIV 1945, p. 457-489.

[2]) See *A Survey-*, p. 121-128.

[3]) See *A Survey-*, p. 87-110.

[4]) See METZGER, *The Caesarean Text*, p. 487-488.

[5]) E. F. HILLS, *The Inter-Relationship of the Caesarean Manuscripts*, in: *J.B.L.* LVIII 1949, p. 141-159, p. 156-157.

This shows that about 1949 a number of problems were waiting to be solved.

Finally we must say a few words about the approach to the problem starting from the influence of extra canonical matter in the form of aramaic traditions on the text [2]. Though this way of dealing with the problem showed some results, the whole matter obviously still waited for further investigation.

2. Tendencies in the Inquiries during the last Ten Years.

Going into our subject we may say that one of the main results gained during these last ten years [3] is that textual critics have become aware of the fact that the development of texts is usually supposed to be a gradual one. Up to the last ten years it can be said that scholars were still thinking that radical recensions were to be pointed at in the history of the text. This idea can be understood. If one knows a text in a certain area, say, about the year 200 and one also knows a text in the same area round about 400 showing a striking difference with the first one, one is bound to suppose a recension sometime between these two periods [4]. Now textual criticism is gradually filling the gaps between these centuries by investigating the quotations of ecclesiastical authors and especially by discovering new Mss, we see that usually the development is to be seen as a gradual growth, a process in which new texts are very slowly changing their character [5]. Each Ms is showing a text in a stage of development. They all show a mixed character with both old and new represented in it. This discovery has its consequences both for the description of the history of the text as well as for the decision on the original text. For the history of the text it means that it is impossible to draw definite lines between particular Mss. Any text belongs more or less to any fixed group. This means that one is not able to speak about "the" western text. There has never been a western text. We may say that there are western readings found in all extant Mss and quotations. For the decision on the original text it means that the only method to be applied is the "eclectic" one [1]). It is, however, necessary before applying this eclectic method to know something of the history of these western readings [2]).

---

[1] See K. and S. Lake, *o.c.*, p. 7.

[2] See *A Survey-*, p. 146-152.

[3] For general surveys of the position of textual criticism, but mainly bibliographical, see: E. MASSAUX, *État actual de la Critique Textuelle du Nouveau Testament*, in: *Nouv. Revue Théol.* LXIX 1953, p. 703-726 and J. DUPLACY, *Où en est la Critique Textuelle du N.T.?*, in: *Rech. de Sc. Rel.* XLV 1957, p. 419-441, XLVI 1958, p. 270-316 and p. 431-462.

[4] Cf. the distinction between a rather "western" text in Clement of Alexandria (ca. 200) and a more neutral text in Cyril of Alexandria (ca. 400).

[5] This was already known for the latin vulgate, see: H. J. VOGELS, *Handbuch der neutestamentlichen Textkritik*, Münster 1923, p. 116-127

Though it is impossible to split up the western text in particular groups we need to make some division in order to keep this survey readable. This division, it may be said again, is not given by the Mss but by the course of the inquiries. We confine ourselves to the following points:

1. The Syriac Text and the Versions dependent on the Syriac Version
2. The Inquiries into the Diatessaron
3. The Caesarean Text
4. The Text in the Western Part of Early Christianity
5. The Influence of non-canonical Matter
6. The Text of Acts

1. *The Syriac Text and the Versions dependent on the Syriac Version*

a. The Syriac Text

Till about ten years ago F. C. Burkitt's conclusions regarding the development of the syriac text were almost generally accepted. The opinion was that ca 170 Tatian composed his diatessaron, a harmony of the gospels widely accepted in the syriac speaking church, next that about 200 (probably due to Palut) the four separated gospels were introduced, though with much less success [1]), and finally that about 411 Rabulla made a recension of the syriac text known as the Peshitta [2]). The syriac text was supposed to show a western text. This was true for the diatessaron as well as for the separated gospels. Caesarean influence was considered to be available in the latter one [3]) and koine influence in the peshitta [4]).

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[1]) G. D. Kilpatrick, *Western Text and Original Text*, in: *the Gospels and Acts*, in: *J.T.S.* XLIV 1943, p. 24-36, p. 36: "—the textual criteria require a rigorous eclectisism", and K. W. Clark, *The Effect of Recent Textual Criticism upon the New Testament Studies*, in: W. D. Davies and D. Daube, *The Background of the N.T. in honour of C. H. Dodd*, Cambridge 1956, p. 21-51, p. 37: "The eclectic method is openly embraced in our day".

[2]) As an example we may draw attention to so-called semitisms in the text of the N.T. The value of them entirely depends on the textual history of the MS in which they appear. If the MS shows a relation with Syria, a Syriac version or a semitic speaking environment, it should be evaluated in a way different from a Ms not showing these relations.

This shows the tendency already hinted at above to relegate textual differences to particular recensions. In the last ten years Burkitt's conception has been proved to be utterly wrong. That there was somethime wrong in his views was already to be seen in a study made by Allgeier in the year 1932. He showed that in a particular Peshitta Ms many old syriac readings were to be found [5]). The same phenomenon was shown by Black. In the first place he pointed to another Ms with many old syriac readings [6]) and in the second place he pointed at Jacob of Serug († 521) still using a text akin to the old syriac [7]). His conclusion had to be that "the Peshitta text had a historical development" [8]). This, however, does not exclude Rabulla playing a part in this development, according to Black. Rabulla's text may be something between the old syriac and the peshitta in its final form [9]).

The idea, however, that Rabulla has something to do with the development of the peshitta has been rejected by Vööbus on numerous occasions [1]. This conception is shown to go back on circumstantial evidence only. An inquiry into the text of Rabulla's translation of Cyril of Alexandria, *de recta fide*, meant the beginning of Vööbus' publications regarding the syriac text [2]. Rabulla showed an old syriac text and thus could not be held responsible for the recension of the peshitta. The same type of text is seen in authors writing at the same time as Rabulla and even in those flourishing many centuries after Rabulla's death [3]. A real contribution to the history of the text in Syria is Vööbus' showing the old syriac text being widely used during so many centuries. It shows that in syr $^{s\ c}$ we only have a very small number of representatives of a text highly esteemed in this area [4]. At the same time it shows that syr $^{s\ c}$ are not to be considered as "the" old syriac text. A great number of variant readings belongs to the old syriac text, very often in close agreement with the text of the diatessaron. Many of them are only found in the quotations of syriac literature. It would be a great contribution to textual criticism in general if Vööbus succeeds in publishing his material [1]).

---

[1]) Cf. M. J. Lagrange, *Critique Textuelle II*, Paris 1935, p. 205: "Mais tandis que les anciences versions latines étaient citées par les écrivains ecclésiastiques, on ne trouve pas chez les Syriens de trace certaine de cette premiere version des séparés".

[2]) For a survey of the position ca. 1950, see: *New Testament Manuscript Studies*, ed. by M. M. Parvis and A. P. Wikgren, Chicago 1950, p. 28-32.

[3]) F. C. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, Cambridge 1904 II, p. 245-251.

[4]) K. Lake, *The Text of the New Testament*, London 1943, p. 40: "---it appears that Rabbula made a new translation, which in the Gospels was based on the Byzantine text",—, see also H. P. Downs, *The Peshitto as a Revision: its Background in Syriac and Greek Texts of Mark*, in: *J.B.L.* LXIII 1944, p. 141-159, esp. p. 153.

[5]) A. Allgeier, *Cod. Phillips* 1388 *in Berlin und seine Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Pešitta*, in: *Or. Christ.* III 1932, p. 1-15.

[6]) M. Black, *The Text of the Peshitta Tetraevangelium*, in: *Studia Paulina in hon. J. de Zwaan*, Haarlem 1953, p. 20-27.

[7]) M. Black, *The Gospel Text of Jacob of Serug*, in: *J.T.S.* NS II 1951, p. 57-63.

[8]) Black, *The Text-*, p. 26.

[9]) M. Black, *Rabbula of Edessa and the Peshitta*, in: *Bull. of John Ryl. Libr.* XXXIII 1950, p. 203-210, p. 209.

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[1] When A. Baumstark was shown A. Vööbus' discoveries with regard to the Syriac version he said: "Do not publish all these findings at once, because no one will believe that all these things are possible", see A. Vööbus, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac*, in: *Corp. Script. Orient.* vol. 128, Subs. T. 3, Louvain 1951, p. 9. It is probably due to this advice that V. in the last ten years in numerous books and articles published his studies on the text. It is to be regretted that therefore the same things are often repeated. Again and again is said that Burkitt was wrong. Those trying to defend Burkitt are reproached to be unscientific, see e.g. A. Vööbus, *Neue Materialen zur Geschichte der Vetus Syra in den Evangelienhandschriften*, in: *Papers of the Estonian Theol. Soc. in Exile* 5, Stockholm 1953, p. 11, n. 9; "Alles zusammenfassend meines Erachtens eine Stellungsnahme wie diese erinnere uns mehr an Feuilletonismus als an wissenschaftliche Forschung"; see also against Black: A. Vööbus, *Das Alter der Peshitta*, in: *Or Christ.* XXXVIII 1954, p. 1-10, p. 5, n. 19 and A. Vööbus, *Studies in the History-*, p. 65, n. 2.

[2] A. Vööbus, *Investigations into the Text of the N.T. used by Rabbula of Edessa*, in: *Contrib. of Baltic Univ.* 59, Pinneberg 1947. Cf. M. Black, *Rabbula.*

[3] A. Vööbus, *Researches on the Circulation of the Peshitta in the Middle of the Fifth Century*, in: *Contrib.*-64, 1948, p. 55: "Whichever way we turn, we cannot overlook the fact that the disciples of the Theological School of Edessa, as far as they are available to us, do not evince any signs of having been influenced by the Peshitta, but give a clear testimony of an unrestricted influence of Old Syriac Gospel-text traditions". For a still later use of this text: A. Vööbus, *Neue Ergebnisse in der Erforschung der Geschichte der Evangelientexte im Syrischen*, in: *Contributions* 65, 1948, and for a summary of results: Vööbus, *Studies in the History.*

[4] A parallel is seen in the history of the old-latin text. Almost all available MSS of this kind are going back to a time after Jerome's revision, see E. von Dobschütz, *Berhard Nestle's Einleitung in das Griechische Neue Testament*, Göttingen 1923, p. 103-104.

In this connection we are forced to say a few words about Vööbus' views on the diatessaron. According to Vööbus it is possible that originally in Syria the Gospel of the Hebrews was generally used [2]). Tatian is supposed to have composed the diatessaron in Rome in the syriac language [3]). He took into account that in Syria the Gospel of the Hebrews was well known, but did not use it as a leading source [4]). Rather early this diatessaron was superseded by the tetraevengelium, especially under the influence of Hellenistic christianity. The tetraevengelium was introduced in a very careful way. That is why in many cases it is not easy to say whether a quotation was drawn from the diatessaron or from the old syriac separated gospels [5]). Especially difficult is the case with regard to Ephrem who, while commenting on the diatessaron, preferred a tetraevengelium [6]).

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[1]) A. Vööbus, *A Critical Apparatus for the Vetus Syra*, in: *J.B.L.* LXX 1951, p. 123-128, A. Vööbus, *Neuentdecktes Textmaterial zur Vetus Syra*, in: *Theol. Zeitschrift* VII 1951, p. 30-38.

[2]) Vööbus, *Studies*, p. 17.

[3]) Vööbus, *Studies*, p. 11-12, see also C. S. C. Williams, *Alterations to the Text of the Synoptic Gospels and Acts*, Oxford 1951, p. 23: "Burkitt's contention has never been disproved that the Greek text underlying Tatian's harmony represented the Gospels as read in Rome in the third quarter of the seond century (*Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, II., 210)".

[4]) Vööbus, *Studies*, p. 20: "It is quite possible that the Syrians started with the Gospel according to Hebrews, and that Tatian took this fact into consideration when he started his work"; A. Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament*, in: *Papers* 6, 1954, p. 21: "Whatever the solution might be, in any case it is clear that the Gospel of the Hebrews was not used as the first and leading source—. The apocryphal element is there, but it does not occupy such a considerable place in the structure of the Diatessaron as to justify this supposition".

[5]) Vööbus, *Researches*, p. 25: "Yet in forming a decision as to whether a quotation is taken from the Diatessaron itself or from a text influenced by the Diatesaron, precaution is highly advisable"; Vööbus, *Studies*, p. 35: "— the Vetus Syra constitute a synthesis, in which old text material, after the pattern of the Diatessaron, has been poured into the form of the Four Gospels—'. See also A. Vööbus, *Die Evangelienzitate in der Einleitung der Persischen Märtyrerakten*, in: *Biblica* XXXIII 1952, P. 222-234, p. 232-233.

[6]) Especially with regard to the text of Ephrem Vööbus was critized. Generally speaking it may be said that Ephrem knew the gospels in a separate form. This is proved by his mentioning the 'Greek Gospel' in C. W.

With regard to the peshitta it has already been said that according to Vööbus we are dealing with a textual development in which Rabulla does not play any part. On the contrary it can be proved that a peshitta already existed before Rabulla [1]). This is proved by Vööbus in pointing at a Ms of the Ps. Clem. Recognitiones written in 411 with a text showing peshitta readings [2]). We need not say much more about it, as we have already seen that this view has been generally accepted.

With this summary we have tried to show Vööbus' work on the syriac text. First of all we should like to make clear that this summary of results does not do justice to Vööbus' work on the text. Summarising we may say that he has shown conclusively

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Mitchell, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan*, London I 1912, p. 121 (p. XC transl.) At the other hand it appears that the passages in his commentary on the Diatessaron in which he is pointing to the greek text are supposed to be interpolations. Vööbus basing his arguments on these passages in *Studies*, p. 38-39 is critized by J. P. Smith, *Review of Vööbus' Studies*, in: *Bibl.* XXXIII 1952, p. 545-549 with an appeal on J. Schäfers, *Evangelienzitate in Ephräms des Syrers Kommentar zu den Paulinischen Schriften*, Freiburg 1917, p. 32-47, who shows these passages to be secondary to the original text. The same is done by L. Leloir, *Le Diatessaron de Tatien*, in: *L'Orient Syrien* I 1956, p. 208-231 and 313-334, p. 325: "A. Vööbus est probablement trop catégorique, lorque'il écrit: "obviously, the Diatessaron was not generally used and accepted in Edessa. The Tetraevangelion alone enjoyed full authority in the Syrian church" (*Studies in the Hist. of the Gospel Text*, p. 39). La conclusion plus modeste de F. C. Burkitt me paraît préférable: Ephrem "was aware of the existence of the separate Gospels, and he seems occasionally to have quoted from them (*Ev. da Meph.* II 186)". We may add that before giving final verdict it is better to wait for the edition of the newly found Commentary on the Diatessaron in Syriac as promised by L. Leloir, *L'Evangile d'Ephrem d'après les oeuvres édités*, in: *Corp. Script. Christ. Or.* 180, subs. T. 12, Louvain 1958, p. II. Nevertheles it must be said that from this work we see that the number of passages drawn by Ephrem from the separated gospels is far greater than those from the diatessaron.

[1]) Vööbus, *Neue Ergebnisse*, p. 11: "Die letzten Dekaden des vierten Jahrhunderts bleiben für die Entstehung des Pešitta frei, und wenn jemand gar noch weiter zurückgehen wollte, wird man es ihm nicht mit entscheidenden Argumenten wehren können."

[2]) A. Vööbus, *The Oldest Extant Traces of the Syriac Peshitta*, in: *Le Muséon* LXIII 1950, p. 191-204. This work is rightly critized by M. Black, *Zur Geschichte des Syrischen Evangelientextes*, in: *Theol. Lit. z.* LXXVII 1952, c. 705-710, c. 707: "Aber selbst wenn Spuren eines Peschitta-artigen Textes oder einer Übersetzung von ihm zu erkennen sind, braucht das nicht zu bedeuten, als dasz die altsyrische Grundlage oder Urform der Peschitta, die sog. Prae-Peschitta, vor Rabbula existiert und in Gebrauch gestanden hat". Cf. Vööbus, *Researches* —, p. 68: "The Peshitta was one of the numerous manuscripts of the Vetus Syra—".

that only one person really influenced the syriac text, viz. Tatian 1).

These results are important for an evaluation of the textual history in Syria. It shows that it is impossible to distribute particular readings to well defined types of texts. It is impossible by comparing "the" diatessaron with "the" old syriac text to conclude on the text used for composing "the" old syriac. Rightly Vööbus does not go into this question 2). In a process extending over a few centuries it is impossible to say which is primary and which is secondary. The same is true of the relation between old syriac and peshitta. The peshitta was not revised by one particular Ms which can be traced by comparing "the" old syriac with "the" peshitta 3).

This means in any case that we are not allowed to draw conclusions regarding the old syriac and caesarean texts any more. We may say that there are agreements, but these agreements may be due to Vööbus' hellenistic influence, but may also go back on a text underlying the diatessaron still to be seen in the old syriac. We will refer to this matter later on.

b. Versions dependent on the syriac Version.

1. The Armenian Version.

In 1949 it was already to be seen that the armenian version was likely to play an important part in textual criticism. The position was 1. the armenian text shows some relations with the caesarean text and 2. from the quotations in armenian ecclesiastical authors it is possible to draw the conclusion that a diatessaron is supposed to be the first way in which Armenia received the gospel in its own language 4).

The most important contribution to the armenian version was made by S. Lyonnet. In an extensive inquiry in which especially at-

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1) As seen above criticism on Vööbus is mainly confined to some details. Generally speaking criticism seems to be impressed by the weight of his arguments, cf.: W. P. M. McHardy, *Rev. Early Versions*, in: *J.T.S.* NS III 1952, p. 264-266; B.-M. Boismard, *Rev. Neue Angaben*, in: *Rev. Bibl.* LIX 1954, p. 271-272; M. E. Massaux, *Rev. Early Versions*, in: *Le Muséon* LXVIII 1955, p. 422-431; H. Engerding, *Rev. Early Versions*, in: *Or. Christ.* XL 1956, p. 142-143.

2) Vööbus, *Studies*, p. 169.

3) This shows that a study of Downs, *The Peshitto as a Revision*, comparing sy^s with sy^p in order to discover the text used in composing sy^s is quite unsatisfactory. Numerous deviations between sy^p and sy^p are probably going back on old syriac texts different from sy^s.

4) See *A Survey*, p. 121-128.

tention was paid to the quotations of armenian authors he concluded that a syriac text is lying at the base of the armenian version. According to Lyonnet it is not easy to say whether this armenian version is supposed to be a diatessaron or an old syriac tetraevangelium. He was inclined to suppose a diatessaron [1]).

With these conclusions Vööbus fully agreed, though with some modifications. According to Vööbus we must suppose an old syriac text to lie at the base of the armenian text. In this case an old syriac with many more tatianisms than found in syr $^{s\,c}$. Bearing in mind what is said above about the history of the syriac text, it is evident that it is almost impossible to decide on this question [2]).

Much more important is that here too it is impossible to give a final verdict about the textual history. Lyonnet showed that the old armenian (Arm 1) only gradually changed into the text known from the armenian Mss containing the four gospels (Arm 2). This gradual development makes it impossible to decide by which Mss the revision took place. Here too it is impossible to say which is primary and which secondary [3]). This again shows that we are not allowed to conclude that caesarean greek Mss played a part in this revision. The caesarean readings may be easily due to the underlying old syriac text.

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[1]) S. Lyonnet, *Les Origines de la Version Arménienne et le Diatessaron*, in: *Bibl. et Orientalia* 13, Roma 1950, p. 258: "Les arméniens ont-ils possédé l'Evangile dans leur langue maternelle non seulement à l'état d'évangiles séparés, même très riches en tatianismes, mais sous la forme d'un diatessaron proprement dit? Une réponse catégorique est malaisée", p. 263: "les arguments de la critique interne conforment ceux de la critique externe en faveur d'un diatessaron arménien". The same idea is to be found in C.S.C. Williams, *Alterations to the Text of the Synoptic Gospels and Acts*, Oxford 1951, especially p. 83-86, and H. Vogels, *Review Lyonnet, Les Origines*, in: *Theol. Lit. z.* LXXVI 1951, c. 544-545, c. 544: "Ich würde — im Urteil weniger zaghaft sein".

[2]) Vööbus, *Early Versions*, p. 142: "My study brought me to these other ways; and they are the ways that lead to new vistas", and p. 154: "the version which was translated by Sahak and Mesrop was a tetraevangelium", cf. also A. Vööbus, *La Première Traduction Arménienne des Evangiles*, in: *Rech. de Sc. Rel.* XXXVII 1950, p. 581-586.

[3]) See Lyonnet, *Les origines*, p. 275: "L'arménien ne retrouvera donc sa place parmie les témoins de texte césaréen que la mesure où s'étendra notre connaissance d'arm 1-cette connaissance demeurera probablement fort limitée". Cf. Vööbus, *Early Versions*, p. 169-170. Therefore it was only possible for A. F. J. Klijn, *An old Witness of the Armenian Text*, in: *J.T.S.* LII 1951, p. 168-170, pointing at a MS with some western and caesarean readings, to say that "during its history a western text-influenced the Armenian text of the Gospels" (p. 170).

2. The Georgian Text

The georgian version played a part in the inquiry into the caesarean text. By K. and S. Lake it was reckoned to the pre-caesarean text [1]. As it is certain that the georgian version is dependent on the armenian [2] it can not be said what is the relation between the caesarean text and the georgian text [3]. An extensive inquiry, however, is still urgently needed [4].

3. The Ethiopian and Arabic Text.

Burkitt noticed some relation between the ethiopian and the old syriac text [5]. Vööbus explained this relation by supposing an old syriac text underlying the ethiopian [6]. At the same time influence of the greek, coptic and arabic version cannot be denied [7]. The same is true of the arabic version being influenced by the old syriac [8] and coptic version [9]. It is noteworthy to remember Hoskier's study on the relation between P^{46} and the ethiopic version. He collected fifty singular readings [10].

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[1] K. and S. LAKE, *Family* 13, p. 8.

[2] See J. MOLITOR, *Die Georgische Bibelübersetzung*, in: *Or. Christ.* XXXVII 1953, p. 23-29, VÖÖBUS, *Early Versions*, p. 175, VÖÖBUS, *Zur Geschichte des Altgeorgischen Evangelientextes*, in: *Papers*, 4, 1953.

[3] We are struck by the remark in VÖÖBUS, *Early Versions*, p. 181: "—the Diatessaron found its way into Georgian Christianity. This last assertion would not be strange at all. The Diatessaron existed in Armenia". This remark, however is followed by "—any statement made must definitely be considered provisional" (p. 182). This shows that the problem of the *Unterlage* in Armenia (diat. or old syriac) is still a matter of dispute, even according to VÖÖBUS, cf. p.10 n. 2.

[4] A new edition of the gospel of John was published by R. P. BLAKE and M. BRIÈRE, *The Old Georgian Version of the Gospel of John, from the Adysh Gospels with the Variants of the Opiza and Tbet' Gospels. Ed. with a Latin Translation*, in: *Patrol. Orient.* 26. 4, Paris 1950. See also J. MOLITOR, *Das Adysh-Tetraevangelium*, in: *Or. Christ.* XXXVII 1953, p. 30-35, XXVIII 1954, p. 11-40, XXXIX 1955, p. 1-32, XL 1956, p. 1-15, XLI 1957, p. 1-21, XLII 1958, p. 1-18.

[5] *Encyclopaedia Biblica* IV, c. 5012.

[6] A. VÖÖBUS, *Die Spuren eines älteren Äthiopischen Evangelientextes im Lichte des literarischen Monumente*, in: *Papers*-2, 1951, p. 20, see *Early Versions*, p. 264-265.

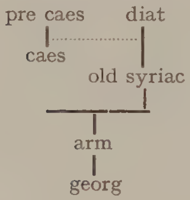
[7] VÖÖBUS, *Early Versions*, p. 263.

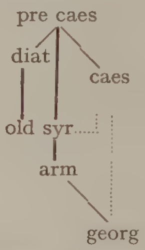
[8] VÖÖBUS, *Early Versions*, p. 283.

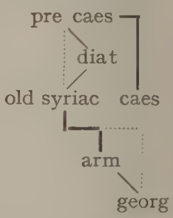
[9] VÖÖBUS, *Early Versions*, p. 294-295.

[10] H. C. HOSKIER, *Appendix to an Article on the Chester Beatty Papyri of the Pauline Epistles, known as P^{46} in JTS No 150 setting forth here in supplementary Detail the shorter Text of that important Document*, Oxford 1937.

With this summary we conclude our survey of the inquiries into the syriac version and the versions dependent on the syriac version. In 1949 we were able to speak about "Contact between the Caesarean "wing" and the Diatessaron "wing" " [1]. In these days we were able to say that two separate groups of textual critics were engaged on two separate fields, viz. the caesarean text and the text of the diatessaron. They met each other in investigating the armenian and georgian text. One was able to draw a line between the influence of these two texts on these secondary versions. At the moment we are not so sure about it. The relation between diatessaron-old syriac-georgian-armenian-caesarean text is not very clear. We may suggest the following possibilities:







With pre-ecaesarean a text is meant like the old egyptian (P^{46} and P^{66}) which is a wild text but not yet influenced by outward circumstances, like versions, extra canonical matter and harmonies. The text is a greek affair in a greek speaking environment. We are dealing with this text in connection with the caesarean text.

2. *Inquiries into the Diatessaron*

About 1949 no great deal of agreement was reached about the significance of the diatessaron for the history of the text. The most important work was done by Peters. He argued that the diatessaron was based on five sources, including the Gospel of the Hebrews, and that it widely influenced versions like the old syriac, armenian, georgian and old latin [2]. This view was not widely accepted as is to be seen from a survey of the studies regarding the diatessaron by B. M. Metzger: "A still larger problem which continues to divide scholarly opinion is the extant of the alleged Tatianic influence upon the textual history of the Gospels—a problem which perhaps will never be satisfactorily settled" [1]).

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[1] See *A Survey*, p. 121-128.

[2] C. Peters, *Das Diatessaron Tatians, seine Überlieferung und sein Nachwirken im Morgen- und Abendland sowie der heutige Stand seiner Erforschung*, in: *Or. Christ. Anal.* 123, Rom 1939.

The most important new contributions to the study of the diatessaron are two new editions of its text. In the first place the edition of the persian harmony of the gospels by Messina and in the second place the new edition of Ephrem's commentary on the diatessaron in the armenian language [2]).

If we sum up the position of studies in this field we are struck at once by a great carefulness with regard to the significance of the diatessaron [3]). Nevertheless a few facts stand out clearly. No doubt the diatessaron influenced the old syriac text. The difficulty, however, is that by lack of knowledge about the diatessaron and the old syriac text it is impossible to define the extent of this influence. This is the more difficult as we are sure that during the development of the diatessaron a tetraevangelium influenced this text.

There also seems to be some agreement about the influence of the diatessaron on the old latin text [4]). However, here the difficulties are still greater than in the case of the syriac text. We may be sure that in Syria a diatessaron was officially used in the church. In the latin speaking church the use of a diatessaron is a mere hypothesis. We know that a diatessaron was available in latin, but where and how it was used nobody can say. Even the idea that a diatessaron was the first way in which the gospel was translated into latin can not be proved [5]). If we also take into account the idea of Vööbus that the diatessaron was composed in Rome, thus possibly based on a text current in Rome, the whole matter about the relation between latin and syriac requires a different handling. According to the rules of textual history it cannot be said whether a singular reading of lat and syr is a consequence of joint influence of a diatessaron or of joint influence of an underlying roman text.

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[1]) *New Testament Manuscript Studies*, p. 29.

[2]) G. Messina, *Diatessaron Persiano*, in: *Bibl. et Orient.* 14, Roma 1951 and L. Leloir, *Saint Ephrem Commentaire de l'Evangile Concordant*, in: *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.* 137, I Louvain 1953, 145, II Louvain 1954.

[3]) For example: M.-E. Boismard, *Le Papyrus Bodmer* II, in: *Rev. Bibl.* LXIV 1957, p. 263-298, p. 267, n. 1: "La question de l'influence de Tatien sur les versions est très controversée. Il ne m'appartient pas de trancher ici le débat".

[4]) Strongly defended recently by H. J. Vogels, *Evangelium Colbertinum*, in: *Bonner Bibl. Beiträge* 4, Bonn 1953, cf. p. 177 and passim and H. J. Vogels, *Handbuch der Textkritik des N.T.*, Bonn 1955.

[5]) This idea is to be found in Vööbus, *Early Versions*, p. 44-45, but see *New Testament Manuscript Studies*, p. 34: "Again, whether the earliest Latin translation of the Gospels known at Rome was in the form of a diatessaron has not been satisfactorily determined."

We have already spoken about the influence of the diatessaron on secondary translations like the armenian and georgian. When we are dealing with translations based on old syriac texts we are not allowed to consider these translations as primary witnesses of the diatessaron anymore.

A few words must be said about the sources of the diatessaron. This question will be taken up again in dealing with the influence of non canonical matter on the text. First of all we must say that it is not improbable to suppose that extra canonical matter can be found in the diatessaron. We must not forget that we are dealing with a very free way of rendering the gospels. At the same time it was an attempt to combine the available evangelical matter into one writing. With the material available in the diatessaron we are, however, not justified to draw the conclusion that a fifth source was used. The idea is rejected at the moment by anybody studying the available editions 1). Messina is the only one trying to prove extra canonical matter available in the diatessaron. He is, however, careful enough not to draw any definite conclusions. Messiana pointed to agreements between the quotations taken from the infant narratives in the *Protevangelium Jacobi* and the persian diatessaron 2). This agreement does not prove in the least

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1) Rejected by VÖÖBUS, *Early Versions*, p. 21, see p. 7, n. 4, L. LELOIR, *Le Diatessaron*, p. 317: La proportion d'éléments apocryphes dans le △ n'est pourtant pas élevée, si bien qu'un évangile purement apocryphe n'a pu intervenir dans la rédaction du △ que comme source occasionelle et secondaire, and H. J. VOGELS, *Rev. Messina*, in: *Theol. Lit. z.* LXXVI 1951, c. 545-547, p. 546.

2) G. MESSINA, *Lezioni Apocrifi nel Diatessaron Pesiano*, in: *Bibl.* XXX 1949, p. 10-27, see also Messina, *Diat. Persiano*, p. XXXV-LI. Messina is first of all pointing at the reading in Lk xxiv, 39 daemonium l. πνεῦμα in Titus of Bostra, see A. BAUMSTARK, *Die syrische Übersetzung des Titus von Bostra und das 'Diatessaron'*, in: *Bibl.* XVI 1935, p. 275-299, in accordance with the Gospel to the Hebrews, see Jerome, *In Is.*, praef. in Lib. XVIII. This reading is supported by T^p: Credettero di vedere lo spettro di uno spirito (p. 371, ed. Messina). Rightly M. considers this reading too small a basis to suppose the gospel to the Hebrews as a fifth source. Next pointing at the agreements between the quotations in *Protevangelium Jacobi* and T^p he supposes, p. XLIX: "Tutto ciò ci induce a pensare che Taziano si servi

that Tatian used this writing. We must not forget that the agreements are limited to quotations. We cannot accept the idea that Tatian was influenced by quotations spread here and there over a particular narrative. The easiest and most obvious explanation is that both the protevangelium and Tatian were influenced by more or less the same type of text. It is a pity that we do not know very much about the origin of this protevangelium. Messina pointing to semitisms in the persian diatessaron only proves that this harmony is going back on a syriac version [1]).

The lack of apocryphal matter in the available diatessara does not, however, proves that originally no extra sources were used. The way in which we are able to ascertain this fact is very delicate. We must be able to show agreements between the diatessaron and a non canonical text and next we must be able to show that this non canonical text is primary and the diatessaron secondary. As the study of non canonical matter of the evangelical type is thouroughly investigated in the apostolic fathers and recently discovered gnostic texts, like the Gospel of Thomas, it is better to give a survey of these inquiries in a separate part.

3. *The Caesarean Text*

It is very difficult to characterise the caesarean text. We are dealing here with a number of Mss and quotations (mainly from

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realmente anche del Protevangelo di Giacomo". Vogels remarks, however, *Review Messina*, c. 546: "Ob allerdings schon Tatian dieses Apokryph benützt hat, erschient mir ebensowenig glaubhaft wie die Verwendung des Hebräerevangeliums".

[1]) G. Messina, *Parellelismi Semitismi Lezioni tendenziozi nell' Armonia Persiano*, in: *Bibl.* XXX 1949, p. 356-376, and *Diat. Persiano*, p. LIX-LXVII. Messina supposes Tatian to have used a Hebrew Gospel, though "non essendoci pervenuti resti di tale opera non è possibile dare una prova diretta". For the time being we suppose these 'semitisms' to be due to the underlying syriac. We may notice that this work translated in the 13th century requires some thourough investigations. We are struck by 1. its deviations from the order of pericopes in the other known diatessara, cf. Leloir's list in: *Le Diatessaron*, p. 216-227 and H. Vogels, *Review Messina*, c. 545; concluding "dasz wir hier unmöglich die ursprüngliche Form des Diatessaron besitzen", 2. its text showing some archaistic trends, cf. B. M. Metzger, *Tatian's Diatessaron and a Pesian Harmony of the Gospels*, in: *J.B.L.* LXIX 1950, p. 261-280 and A. J. B. Higgins, *The Persian Gospel Harmony as a Witness to Tatian's Diatessaron*, in: *J.T.S.* N.S. III 1952, p. 83-87, and 3. its text being very often in agreement with the persian tetraevangelium, see: Messiana, *Diat. Persiano*, p. LXXXV-XCII.

Eusebius and Origen) showing some relation. This relation, however, is probably due more to their being influenced by the same type of text than by their going back on one underlying archetype [1]). The problem is which influence may be pointed at.

About 1949 the following view was generally accepted. In the first place one was able to point at the so-called pre-caesarean or old egyptian text represented by P^{45} W fam i 28 and fam. xiii and in the second place we were able to discern the caesarean text proper in the Mss θ 565 700 and in the quotations of Origen and Eusebius. Some relation with the versions in syriac, georgian and armenian can be seen [2]).

First of all we may say that during these last ten years we are going to understand a bit more of the development of this text. Nevertheless a great number of questions are waiting to be answered.

It was urgently needed to investigate the nature of the quotations of Eusebius and Origen. Much work has been done in this field and we are able now to draw some conclusions. First of all we may point to the inquiries made by K. W. Kim. In dealing with the text of Origen he says: "The Matthean text of Origen is neither "Caesarean" nor "neutral"; it is a distinct text type which is represented by Codex 1 and 1582". Origen used this type of text not only in his *Commentary on Matthew*, but also in his *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, *Homilies on Jeremia*, *Homilies on Luke*, *Against Celsus* [3]). Kim also inquired into the text of John used in these writings [1]. He reached the following striking conclusions:

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[1]) Cf. J. E. McAndrew Baikee, *The Caesarean Text inter Pares*, in: *Abstracts of Dissertations Approved for the Ph. D., M. Sc. and M. Litt. Degrees in the Un. of Cambridge during the Acad. Year* 1935-1936, Cambridge 1936, p. 53-54, p. 54: "The Caesarean unity is one of influences rather than origin, and the Caesarean text, in a measure at least, is really a Textual Process". This quotations is drawn from: B. M. Metzger, *Annotated Bibliography of the Textual Criticism of the N.T.* 1914-1939, in: *Stud. and Doc.* XVI, Copenhagen 1955.

[2]) The first one pointing to this division was: T. Ayuso, ¿ *Texto cesarense o pre cesariense* ? in: *Bibl.* XVI 1935, p. 369-415, for a general survey: Metzger, *The Caesarean Text*, see also E. F. Hills, *The Inter-Relationship of the Caesarean Manuscripts* in: *J.B.L.* LXVIII 1949, p. 141-159.

[3]) K. W. Kim, *The Matthean Text of Origen in his Commentary on Matthew*, in: *J.B.L.* LXVIII 1949, p. 125-139. Kim investigated these quotations by the so called "multiple method". In this method the Byzantine readings are included in the investigation. The course of events is as follows: 1. The inquiry is limited to those readings showing 3 or 4 different forms. Every time groups of MSS are looked for continually supporting a particular reading. 2. The primary witnesses of 1. are investigated in the same way. The work investigated ought to be the primary witness now. 3. Finally a list is drawn of distinctive readings with the primary witness.

John in *Comm. in Matthew* is about	I 1582
John in *On Prayer, Ag. Cels.*	neutral
Matth. in *Comm. on John* and *On Prayer*	neutral
Luke in *Comm. on Matth.*	neutral
Mark from ch. XI in *Comm. on John*	θ

This means that in Caesarea a neutral and caesarean text were found side by side [2].

Next we are dealing with the inquiries of Suggs into the text used by Eusebius. The Gospel of John in his Writings agains Marcellus "Stands between the "Western" and "Alexandrian" texts, but somewhat closer to the "Western" " [3]. The same is to be said of Eusebius' text of Matthew, though "strong support of Old Latin (OL)" is to be seen. He can say: "The chief witnesses for the Matthean text of Eusebius are "Caesarean" and "Western" with "Western" witnesses slightly in the ascendancy" [4].

The significance of these studies are great. We may be certain that Eusebius and Origen are not using a text pointed at in any given Ms or type of text. We may say that both of them are standing somewhere in a textual development. A development in which neutral, western and caesarean are playing a part. This overlapping of neutral, pre-caesarean and western readings leads us to the conclusion that also the neutral text is a gradual growth. This is

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This complicated method shows some disadvantages: 1. Only multiple variants are investigated, 2. Textual history showing Byzantine influence in later MSS is neglected. See also K. W. Kim, *Origen's Text of Matthew in his Against Celsus*, in: *J.T.S.* N.S. IV 1953, p. 42-49, in this and the following studies Kim is applying the usual method dealing with caesar. MSS by neglecting the Byzantine readings.

[1] K. W. Kim, *Origen's Text of John in his On Prayer, Commentary on Matthew and Against Celsus*, in: *JTS* NS I 1956, p. 74-84.

[2] A neutral text being available in Palestine is also shown by J. H. Greenlee, *The Gospel Text of Cyril of Jerusalem*, in: *St. and Doc.* XVII, Copenhagen 1955. C. shows a text more neutral than western, more ℵ than B. See Review of this work by R. V. G. Tasker, in: *JTS*, N.S. VII 1956, p. 278-288.

[3] M. J. Suggs, *Eusebius' Text of John in the 'Writings against Marcellus'*, in: *JBL* LXXV 1956, p. 137-142.

[4] M. J. Suggs, *The Eusebian Text of Matthew*, in: *Nov. Test.* I 1956, p. 233-245, p. 244. These results are in agreement with H. S. Murphey, *Eusebius' N.T. Text in the Demonstratio Evangelica*, in *JBL* LXXIII 1954, p. 162-168, also discerning frequent support of D.

also demonstrated by the fact that we are able to point at corrections of a neutral type in old egyptian texts 1). This means that a neutral text existed but surely not available in one distinct manuscript or as one type of text. The neutral text was available in numerous readings spread over a great number of Mss. It is only by a slow process of purification that the readings came together in what is now called the neutral text 2). We may say that we are dealing here with a kind of eclecticism spread over a long time in which probably Origen somehow played a part. This part was probably an involuntary one, but a particular preference for "neutral" Mss in his case is not to be denied.

In the old egyptian text we are able to discern neutral, western and caesarean readings. It is highly probable that a same kind of text, apparently a bit more western than in Egypt was current in Palestine as can be seen in Eusebius. Here we see a similar development as in Egypt. This development, however, did not go along the same lines. The development shows a text much less influenced by a particular view. The result was the so-called caesarean text 3), showing much more its original "wild" origin as the neutral. No leading principle is seen in dealing with these Mss 4). They are still showing their wild character and may sometimes be influenced by a versional text 5), as can be easily imagined in a trilingual country like Palestine 6).

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1) This is shown by A. F. J. Klijn, *Papyrus Bodmer* II (*John* I-XIV) *and the Text of Egypt*, in: *NTS* III 1956-1957, p. 327-334, p. 333-334 for P^{66} and by G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles*, London 1953, p. 252-262 for P^{46}.

2) See for a relation between P^{45} and P^{66}: Klijn, *Papyrus Bodmer II.*

3) Cf. H. W. Huston, *Mark* 6 *and* 11 *in* P^{45} *and the Caesarean Text*, in: *JBL* LXXIV 1955, p. 262-271, p. 269: "To sum up, then, P^{45} in these chapters cannot be classed as a strong supporter of any text", and p. 270: "P^{45}, as a member of the pre-Caesarean class (along with W, fam. 1, fam. 13, and 28) has a text which" is not a bad "Caesarean" text, but a pre-Origenian text which has revised into the true "Caesarean"" (quoted from K. and S. Lake, *Family* 13, p. 7-8).

4) In this connection it is necessary to point to a very important study by J. N. Birdsall, *The Text of the Gospels in Photius* in: *JTS* NS VII 1956, p. 42-55 and II, p. 190-198. See also J. N. Birdall, *Photius and the Text of the Fourth Gospel*, in: *NTS* IV 1957-58, p. 61-63. In Photius many precaesarean readings are found. This is showing that it is necessary to inquire into the relations between old-egyptian text-Palestine text- Byzantine Text. There must be a relation between these texts, but which?

5) E. F. Hills, *The Inter-Relationship*, p. 157, and E. F. Hills, *A New Approach to the Old Egyptian Text*, in: *JBL* LXIX 1950, p. 345-362, esp. 354.

This view fully explains the peculiarity of the Mss grouped together under the name of caesarean. They are the descendants of greek texts of a rather wild form, but not influenced by radical influences due to extra canonical matter, versions or harmonies.

In this connection we must speak about the work of M.-E. Boismard on the text. First of all we must say that his studies are only limited to the Gospel of John. One of the most important facts shown by Boismard is that in quotations of early ecclesiastical authors and versions we see a text which is quite different from the texts known in the available Mss of the gospels. This text is striking for its briefness [1]). We are sure that Boismard is hinting here at a very important fact in textual matters. In his study on p^{66} he is going into this problem and draws some important conclusions [2]).

He starts by saying that it is impossible anymore to split up Mss in the four almost classical groups. In plase of this partition he gives a new one based on the way in which the Mss group themselves in particular variant readings. These groups are:

Hills is supposing a Diatessaron having influenced the caesarean text. This not to be proved.

[6]) See A. F. J. Klijn, *The Value of the Versions for the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, in: *The Bible Translator* VIII 1957, p. 127-130. Also in Dutch: *Welke Waarde Hebben de Vertalingen voor de Textkritiek van het Nieuwe Testament?*, in: *Ned. Theol. Tijdschr.* VIII 1953-1954, p. 165-168.

[1]) M.-E. Boismard, *A Propos de Jean V, 39, Essai de Critique Textuelle*, in: *Rev. Bibl.* LV 1948, p. 5-34, M.-E. Boismard, *Critique Textuelle et Citations Patristiques* in: *idem* LVII 1950, p. 381-408 and M. E. Boismard, *Lectio Brevior Potior*, in: *idem* LVIII 1951, p. 161-168, p. 168: "— le texte court se présente avec de meilleurs garanties d'authenticité que le texte long. Un texte soutenu par des autorités patristiques et par des versions apparaît meilleur que le texte soutenu par l'ensemble des manuscrits grecs". B. is pointing at Chrysostom, Nonnos of Pannopolis, Tatian and the syriac, latin, ethiopic and persian versions. See also M.-E. Boismard, *Problèmes de Critique Textuelle concernant le quatrième Evangile*, in: *idem* LX 1953, p. 347-371 and M. J. Suggs, *The Use of Patristic Evidence in the Search for a Primitive New Testament*, in: *NTS* IV 1957, p. 139-147.

[2]) M.-E. Boismard, *Le Papyrus Bodmer II*. The Papyrus was edited in 1956: *Papyrus Bodmer II, Evangile de Jean chap.* 1-14, Publié par Victor Martin, in: *Bibl. Bodmeriana* 1956 and idem, *Supplément, Evangile de Jean chap.* 14-21, 1958. Cf. studies by R. Schippers, *De Papyruscodex van Johannes* (P^{66}), in: *Geref. Theol. Tijdschr.* LVII 1957, p. 33-45 and K. Aland, *Das Johannesevangelium auf Papyrus*, in: *Forsch. und Fortschr., Akademie Berlin* XXXI 1957, p. 50-55. C. K. Barrett, *Papyrus Bodmer II. A Preliminary Report*, in: *Exp. T.* LVIII 1957, p. 174-177. See also Duplacy, *Où en est . . .*, p. 280, n. 169 and p. 441, n. 39.

A. The Alexandrian Text, called *B* represented by B. Origen in his Comm. on John and

C W L 33 sa bo (mixed with *SD*) ff c l b (from 9, 22), though the latins are closer to W L than to B. Finally א belongs to the group from the middle of ch 8, though showing a *SD* in the beginning.

B. A short text with Tatian as leading representative. This text influenced the old syriac, the old latin (especially e, but also a b r l), the georgian, persian [1] and ethiopian versions. Traces of this text are found in D (by d). Affinities to this text are seen in P^{66}, Chrysostom and Nonnos of Pannopolis.

C. A text called *SD*, represented by א in the first seven chapters, the text of D in its original form, all versions and P^{66} [2].

D. The Caesarean Text called *C*, which shows not many peculiar readings, because it is an eclectic text.

E. The Antiochian Text, called *A* going back on *B* and *SD*.

Every one dealing with textual criticism will be somewhat baffled by seeing this list. It may seem peculiar that we meet some Mss in different groups. This peculiar fact, however, is in agreement with textual history which showed that all texts are mixed. The difficulty is that not in all cases we can make out to which group a given reading belongs. This difficulty is often met in Boismard's study [3]. The trouble is that the groups are not formed starting from genealogical considerations, but from the way in which the variant readings generally break up [4]. These types of text hang in the air. They are obviously inspired by Langrange's method called "critique rationelle" of which Vogels rightly wrote: Aber auch ein sorgfältiges Nacharbeiten seiner Ausführungen hat mich nicht von dem Eindruck befreien können, dasz wir in Nebel und

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[1] It is a real contribution to textual criticism that Boismard is pointing to the important Persian version. This version has been neglected in al known surveys of the versions of the N.T.

[2] See also for the relation between א and D in John: B. Botte, *Un Témoin du Texte Césaréen de quatrième Évangile: l 253*, in: *Mél. Bibl. A. Robert*, Travaux de l'Inst. Cath. de Paris, 4, 1956, p. 466-469.

[3] E.g. In ix, 18 om. του αναβλεψαντος P^{66} lat sy^{s} $Eph.^{6-12}$ Ta CoB Chr. with the comment, *Papyrus Bodmer II*, p. 383: "—on pouvait se demander si P (scil.^{66}) suit ici le texte *SD* —ou celui de Tatien".

[4] This is clearly shown in the preceeding note. The idea that P^{66} is following Tatian is rather strange. According to the textual history, as far is known, we should rather say in this case that Tatian is following *SD*. We must, however, be aware that Boismard is speaking about types of texts and not about relations between the MSS based on the history of the text.

Dunkel tappen und stets Gefahr laufen uns in Kreisen zu bewegen, solange wir mit Rezensionen arbeiten, deren genaue Gestalt uns ebenso unbekannt bleibt wie ihre Schöpfer, ihr Geltungsbereich und ihre Grundlagen 1)). Nevertheless we are not allowed to reject the grouping as a whole on these grounds. We surely believe that also along lines of textual history BOISMARD is justified in his conclusions. If we test this grouping from this angle we arrive at the following conclusions:

A. A basic short text found in some old egyptian Mss like P^{45} and P^{66}, but related to the text of some early fathers, Tatian and early versions.

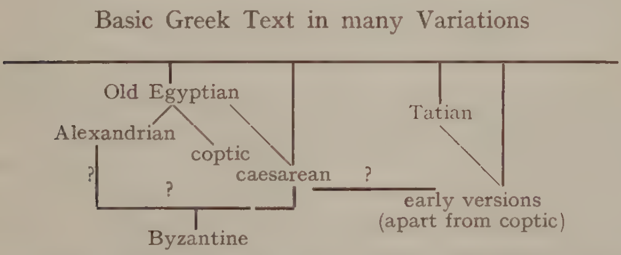
B. A text influenced by Tatian's harmony found in syr, lat, georg, pers, arm, arabic.

C. An alexandrian text found in B but already available in the old egyptian text.

D. A Caesarean text available in some late Mss going back on the old egyptian and/or palestine text.

E. A Byzantine Text.

This can be shown in the following way:



With these observations we bring the survey of the inquiries into the caesarean text to an end. The caesarean text was proved to be very important for our knowledge of the early greek text by its having relations with the old egyptian text. We may be sure that a text like the egyptian was also used by Tatian in composing his diatessaron. With this observation, however, we do not yet fully explain the text of Tatian.

Referring to what was said about the relation between diat.-cae-

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1) H. J. VOGELS, *Handbuch-*, p. 207, see also E. C. COLWELL, *The Significance of Grouping of N.T. Manuscripts*, in: *NTS* IV 1957-58, p. 73-92, esp. p. 76-77.

sarean text at the end of 1. *The Syriac Text* . . ., we are facing the following problems.

In the first place we may be sure that the basic greek text varied much among each other. We only know the basic greek text of Egypt. Our knowledge about this text in other parts of the world, for example Rome and Carthage is rather limited, as we shall see. In the second place we do not know in which part of the world Tatian composed his diatessaron and even if we were able to prove where Tatian composed it we are not sure whether he used the basic text of the place where he was composing it. These incertainties are of some importance for a final verdict with regard to Tatian's text. As long as we are not sure about this basic text we can not say how many variant readings are due to his work on the text or are due to the underlying already corrupt basic greek text. It may be that Tatian was using a text much more "western" than can be seen in the old egyptian. That such a text really existed is seen in studying the text of Gaul, Rome and Carthage. Thus it is obvious that only after having an insight in the total picture of the basic text we are able to say something of Tatian's possible influence on the text.

4. *The Text in the Western Part of Early Christianity*

Our knowledge of the text in the western part of early christianity is limited to the centres Gaul, Rome and Carthage.

About Gaul not much is to be said. The only witness for the text used in this part is Irenaeus (ca 190). During the last ten years no studies appeared about his text of the gospels and acts. We suffice by giving a summary of the results up to the present.

Though it is generally accepted that the quotations in the latin translation are faithfully translated from the greek, it is still possible that influence of the latin bible crept into the text [1]). Nevertheless it is proved that Irenaeus used a text showing affinities with D, old latin, old syriac and the diatessaron [1]. It is clear that this result is of great importance for the history of the text in this part of the world. It means that a greek text existed with many more western readings than known from the basic text in Egypt. Especially now more is known about the diatessaron it would be very useful to examine Irenaeus' quotations afresh.

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[1]) See *A Survey*, P. 85. We may point to one recent study by K. T. Schäfer, *Die Zitate in der lateinischen Irenäusübersetzung und ihr Wert für die Textgeschichte des Neuen Testament*, in: *Vom Wort des Lebens, Festschrift. M. Meinertz*, in: *Neutest. Abhandl.*, I. Erg. band 1951, p. 50-59. S. investigated the text of Galatians in the Latin translation of Ir. He agrees that the latin translation generally slavishly follows the greek original. This leads to the conclusion that this latin translation is to be counted to the Greek texts and not to the latin.

Regarding the text of Rome much more was done during these years. The inquiries have brought to light that studies related to the transition of greek as the official language in the roman church to latin does not shed very much light on the origin of the latin translation of the N.T. From the earliest times latin speaking communities existed in the roman church [2]. This means that we may be sure that also from the earliest times attempts must have been made to render the greek N.T. into latin [3]. The only way of dealing with the latin translation is by studying the text itself.

We need not to say that the old latin shows some peculiar relations with the old syriac and diatessaron. We again wonder how to explain this phenomenon. We noticed already that Vööbus supposed influence of a latin diatessaron on the old latin. If this is so it is necessary that the following requirements are met:

a. in the great group of old latin translations a common source must be shown; this source being a diatessaron lying at the base of all later translations and

b. there must be some knowledge about the basic text of Rome before Tatian is pointed at as the one who really influenced the latin text.

Going into these two points we see that a. seems to be proved. The greatest problem is the already classical division between the african and european latin translations. In the monumental edition of Jülicher the latin translation are still divided in an african and european group [4]. The scholars who suppose that a diatessaron lies at the bottom of the latin translations had to deal with the relation between the two. In 1933 Miss A. H. A. Bakker studies the text of k and came to the conclusion that it was not justified to make a division between the two groups [1]. Now the same has been done for the other african Ms e by H. J. Vogels [2]. He reached the conclusion that we are not allowed to suppose that the african had influenced the european, but that both groups go back on a latin translation of the Diatessaron [3].

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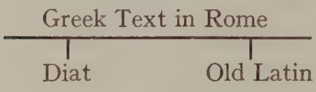
[1] See *A Survey*, p. 86-87.

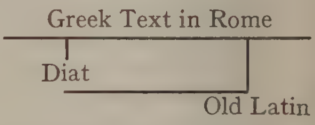
[2] See Chr. MOHRMANN, *Les Origines de la Latinité Chrétienne à Rome*, in: *Vig. Christ.* III 1949, p. 67-112 and 163-183, esp. p. 78-87 about the latin translation of I Clement.

[3] Cf. Chr. MOHRMANN, *o.c.*, p. 87-88: "Mais avant tout ces anciennes versions sont d'origine populaire".

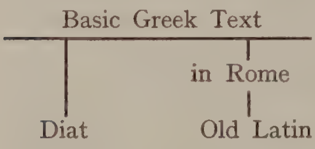
[4] T. AYUSO MARAZUELA, *La Vetus Latina Hispana*, vol. I *Prolegómenos, introducción general, e studio y analisis de las fuentes*, Madrid 1951, supposes according to METZGER, *Early Versions*, p. 3, a spanish old latin text. Apart from Mt and Mk recently the gospel of Lk was published by Jülicher-Matzkow.

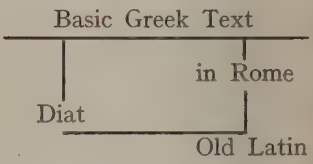
We must not forget, however, that with this result the problems has not been solved. In any case somebody must have been the first to translate the greek N.T. into latin. Before we assume Tatian to have been the first we first of all have to deal with what is called b. above. We may ask: What text was used by Tatian?; What text was used in composing the tetraevangelium if we suppose the diatessaron to be the first translation into latin?; and what is the relation between these two texts? Supposing for a moment that Tatian composed his diatessaron in Rome we are able to trace the following developments:





The only way of solving this problem is by investigating the greek text in Rome. If we know this text it is theoretically speaking possible to decide on the amount of influence of Tatian on the old latin. The same applies if Tatian did not compose his diatessaron in Rome. In this case we get:





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[1] A. H. A. Bakker, *A Study of Codex Evang. Bobbiensis* (*k*), Part I Amsterdam 1933.

[2] H. J. Vogels, *Evangelium Colbertinum*.

[3] Vogels rejects any influence from the african on the european. The common readings are explained thus, p. 177: "Das alles führt zu dem Schlusz, dasz eine Evangelienharmonie an der Spitze aller lateinischen Übersetzungsarbeit liegt, wie es bei den Syrern und Armeniern im Osten, bei den Deutschen, Flamen und Italienern im Westen der Fall ist".

Also in this case it is first of all necessary to inquire into the greek text of Rome.

Now we know how important it is to know something about the basic greek text in Rome we are going into this subject.

For the pre-tatianic text of Rome we are limited to only a small number of witnesses. Regarding the quotations of I Clement and Pastor Hermae not much can be said. We are dealing here with a number of allusions and surely not with actual quotations of the written text. Next we have Justin the Martyr. Though his text is surely of great importance we are partially dealing with the same difficulty as with the text of I Clement. It can still not be made out how much non canonical matter is available in his writings 1). It is, however, still worth while to point to a study by E. Massaux going into the text of Justin. This study is limited to the quotations taken from the Sermon on the Mount 2). Only 23 passages are available. The results, however, are very remarkable. It can be seen that Justin is not often supported by D, but very often by h. He shows a text sometimes in agreement with the Mss E F G H K M S Π V Ω Δ Θ, but also with f sy$^{\text{pa hl hier}}$ arm eth. This means: "L'accord des vieilles latines avec les versions syriaques contre la recension alexandrine (ℵB) est en faveur de l'hypothese que Justin lisait un texte du type "occidentale", bien qu'on doive noter le disaccord avec D" 3). We are surely dealing with a basic text apparently with much more western readings than in the basic text of Egypt. This is of course of importance for the problem of the origins of the latin text in Rome. As we know a study is being made of the quotations of Justin we leave this witness for the moment 4).

Our last witness for the pre-tatianic text is Marcion. In dealing with his text a number of difficulties arise. In the first place Marcion came to Rome from the east. Thus he may not be showing a real roman text. In the second place Marcion's text is generally speaking only known from Tertullian's refutation of Marcion. Dealing with

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1) See for a number of studies in the text of Justin: E. Massaux, *Le texte du sermon sur la Montagne de Matthieu utilisé par Saint Justin*, in: *Ephem. Théol. Lovanienses* XXVIII 1952, p. 411-448, p. 412-413, n. 1-12.

2) E. Massaux, *Le Texte du Sermon.*

3) E. Massaux, *Le Texte du sermon*, p. 447-448.

4) H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern*, in: *Texte und Untersuchungen* 65 1957 says to be engaged in a fresh inquiry into the text, cf. p. 89-91; 96-97 and p. 265.

Tertullian's *adv. Marcionem* IV, we again meet some questions. In what language did Tertullian read the text of Marcion, greek or latin, and in what language did Tertullian read his own catholic N.T.? These questions about which much was written seem to be settled now [1]. H. v. SODEN [2] showed for the text of the Pauline epistles and quite recently A. J. B. HIGGENS showed for the gospel of Luke that the quotations of Tertullian dealing with Marcion and his own bible show a marked difference in wording [3]. The wording of Marcion is more in agreement with the european latin Mss and that of Tertullian's bible more with the african latin Mss. From this fact we may draw the conclusion that Tertullian is not translating the bible of Marcion nor his own bible, but that he is dealing with a latin text of Marcion and is using a latin catholic bible.

After these introductory remarks we go over to the text of Marcion. In 1948 E. C. BLACKMAN published a study on Marcion in which he also dealt with his text [4]. In separate lists the agreements between Marcion and the old latin Mss a b d c e f ff g^1 i l m q r r^2 s vg Cypr Ambr Ps.Cypr and Lucifer are shown [5]. These lists show that on numerous points agreements between Marcion and the old latin text can be seen. Nevertheless a problem remains to be solved. It is that from these lists is not to be made out in which cases these agreements may be due to the influence of Marcion on the old latin, thus not showing the basic greek text of Rome. This is a problem already dealt with 25 years ago by Harnack and POTT [6]. It is not easy to draw a line between marcionitic influence and basic text, but in general it is wise to limit the marcionitic influence to tendentious readings [7]. This is also done by BLACK-

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[1] See *A Survey*, p. 159.

[2] See H. VON SODEN, *Der lateinische Paulustext bei Marcion und Tertullian*, in: *Festschrift f. A. Jülicher*, Tübingen 1927, p. 229-281.

[3] A. J. B. HIGGINS, *The Latin Text of Luke in Marcion and Tertullian* in: *Vig. Christ.* II 1951, p. 1-42.

[4] E. C. BLACKMAN, *Marcion and his Influence*, London 1948.

[5] BLACKMAN, *o.c.*, p. 135-156.

[6] A. VON HARNACK, *Marcion, das Evangelium vom fremden Gott*, in: *Texte und Unters.* 45, Leipzig 1921 (1st ed.) and 1924 (2nd ed.). A. POTT, *Marcions Evangelien text*, in: *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* XLII, n. F. V 1923, p. 202-223.

[7] For a careful handling of the evidence, Williams, *Alterations* p. 10-18, esp. p. 17-18: "During the first half of the second century it seems that Marcion was able very freely to alter and adopt a Gospel to suit his own tastes and that some of alterations seem to have left their traces in MSS.

MAN. But even if we take this fact into consideration MARCION's influence is to be considered very small. We must decide that the agreements of Marcion and the old latin are mainly going back on their sharing a common basic text. This text is showing many western readings. Many of these readings are also found in the old syriac and diatessaron, as is shown by Blackman [1]).

These results again show that a basic greek text existed with many more western readings than are found in the old egyptian. It seems that many of these readings were bound to be accepted by the latin text. This text was composed in the area where this western text was available. The greek Mss with these readings disappeared as soon as the western church changed to latin.

Returning again to Tatian we see that we are not allowed to draw definite conclusions. There are two possibilities in order to explain the relation between the old latin and the diatessaron. The first one is that Tatian composed his diatessaron starting from a roman text. In this case many of the agreements between the diat-old syriac and old latin are explained. On the other hand the existence of an old latin diatessaron cannot be denied. Influence of this diatessaron on the old latin Mss is possible by which also many agreements between old latin-old syriac-diat. are explained. These two possibilities, however, are forcing us to handle variant readings found in old latin and old syriac only or supported by the diatessaron very carefully. We must never forget that we do not know very much about the basic greek text in Rome. Judged by Irenaeus, Justin the Martyr and Marcion, this basic text seems to show aberrations which may have influenced the versional text in a thorough way. (to be continued)

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preserved perhaps in more orthodox circles. This would not be surprising. The division between 'heretic' and 'orthodox' was not always so sharp as we imagine".

[1]) BLACKMAN, *o.c.*, p. 169-171. It is to be regretted that B. only compared the Arabic version of the Diatessaron. See also H. VOGELS, *Der Einflusz Marcions und Tatians auf Text und Kanon des N.T.*, in: *Synopt. Studien A. Wikenhauser-dargebracht*, München 1953, p. 278-289. This study is mainly confined to the *Corpus Paulinum*. The relation between the text of Tatian and Marcion is explained by Tatian having used a text influenced by Marcion. But even so, it must be said, p. 284: "Wir lassen es dahingestellt sein, ob Marcion i. J. 145 zu Rom einen katholischen Paulustext benutzte, der in sehr auffälligen Punkten mit dem altsyrischen Text zusammentrifft".

‘Q’ IS ONLY WHAT YOU MAKE IT

BY

STEWART PETRIE

> *Hamlet.* Do you see yonder cloud, that’s almost in shape of a camel?
> *Polonius.* By the mass, and ’tis like a camel, indeed.
> *Ham.* Methinks it is like a weasel.
> *Pol.* It is backed like a weasel.
> *Ham.* Or, like a whale?
> *Pol.* Very like a whale.
>
> *Hamlet,* III, ii.

The ‘Q’ hypothesis, despite its long-standing popularity, has never managed to command universal acceptance, and from time to time it is called in question. Recent firm disapprobation, such as has been expressed by Dom BUTLER and Dr. A. M. FARRER, is of real importance, not least as a salutary reminder that widespread deference, much of it quite uncritical, does not necessarily invest the hypothesis with sacrosanctity. For there is little doubt that ‘Q’, originating apparently as no more than a useful abbreviation offered tentatively to symbolize the essence of a hypothesis, has gradually acquired such eminence that it now appears rather in the guise of a dominating hieroglyph requiring veneration from any student of the Gospels who wishes to be accounted respectable. The eminence of ‘Q’, however, and the consequent respectability attaching to its due recognition, could turn out to be quite pretentious, and may need to be disturbed. It is proposed here to add to the strictures of others by drawing attention to some of the vagaries of ‘Q’ which are not commonly noticed, but which are so disconcerting as to impair faith in its continued usefulness as a hypothesis. If the proferred criticism seems drastic, it is not for want of appreciation of the amazing industry that scholars have expended on ‘Q’.

There is something about the ‘Q’ hypothesis—a nebulosity, a capriciousness, an intractibility—that is altogether baffling. ‘Q’ is confidently postulated and conveniently labelled; but the provision of an identity tag cannot of itself bring into existence a hypothetical source that has yet to be tracked down and exhibited with really confident assurance. Concerning ‘Q’, there has been asserted a umber of possibilities, at most perhaps some probabilities. But the ypothesis has gained undeserved prestige because, unfortunately, he conceivable, the possible, the probable, exhibit in practice startling facility for transformation into the actual, the real, he certain.

Precise definition of 'Q' is not easy to come by. The symbol tself is customarily taken to represent the German *Quelle*, 'source'. This is probably, not certainly, the explanation of its origin. R. H. LIGHTFOOT, in his *History and Interpretation in the Gospels*, p. 27, n. 1, records a different explanation, which has been challenged, but not disproved, by W. F. HOWARD, in *The Expository Times*, Vol. L, p. 379 f.). If correctly derived, the term begs the question right at the outset by implying a single source for all the material it gathers to itself, a handicap that is speedily mitigated by the expansion of 'Q' into Q^M, Q^L, Q^1, Q^2, Q^3, and the rest, at the discretion of its reconstructors. It would perhaps be agreed that Q' is generally intended to indicate the source whence is derived the non-Marcan material common to Matthew and Luke. It might also be conceded that it was the observation of *common* non-Marcan matter in Matthew and Luke that first gave rise to the hypothesis; though there are those for whom the requirement of any close verbal similarity in eliciting this material from those two Gospels is rejected as an unimaginative restriction.

But with such concessions agreement would begin and end. Thereafter the consensus of opinion is that of *dis*agreement. The venture of exploring the vast range of superstructures that have been imposed on brittle foundations makes it increasingly clear that the only common factor that persists is the letter 'Q'. Indeed, the variety of conclusion that is reached concerning the hypothetical 'Q' is bewildering in its exasperating contradictoriness. 'Q' is a single document; it is a composite document, incorporating earlier sources; it is used in different redactions; it is more than one document. The original language of 'Q' is Greek; the original language is Aramaic; it is used in different translations. 'Q' is the Matthaean Logia; it is not the Matthaean Logia. 'Q' has a definite shape; it is no more than an amorphous collection of fragments. 'Q' is a gospel; it is not a gospel. 'Q' includes the Crucifixion story; it does not include the Crucifixion story. 'Q' consists wholly of sayings and there is no narrative; it includes some narrative. All of 'Q' is preserved in Matthew and Luke; not all of it is preserved; it is better preserved in Matthew; it is better preserved in Luke. Matthew's order of 'Q' is the correct order; Luke's is the correct order; neither order is correct. 'Q' is used by Mark; it is not used by Mark. And of this remarkable 'source', about which we have so many flat contradictions and nothing certain, the literary characteristics have been discussed, the linguistic usage has been examined, the Old Testament allusions have been listed, the ethical interest has been studied, the theology has been propounded.

Incongruities further display themselves in the attempts at detailed reconstruction. So much so that, when STREETER cheerfully proclaimed that the reconstructor of 'Q' can start off at a run, he should have gone on to evoke a warning from Browning's Bishop Blougram:

> I trust nor hand nor eye nor heart nor brain
> To stop betimes: they all get drunk alike.

In 'An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament' (third edition), pp. 197-202, James MOFFATT has conveniently tabulated his own and sixteen other reconstructions of 'Q'. Examination and comparison of these discovers a number of intriguing features.

Of the seventeen outlines, all give the Matthaean passages allotted to 'Q', but only thirteen give the Lucan; two do not allow to Luke any use of 'the Matthaean Logia'. Of the thirteen outlines which indicate parallels, eight show a preponderance of the material to be in Matthew, sometimes amounting to more than double that in Luke. Three show a preponderance in Luke, one in the proportion of about three to two. Two are almost equal, with a very slight difference in favour of Matthew.

The average number of verses allotted to Matthew in seventeen reconstructions is 322, the highest being 466, and the lowest 159. The average allotted to Luke in thirteen reconstructions is 238, the highest being 514, and the lowest 160. The highest allocation for both Matthew and Luke occurs in the same reconstruction, but the lowest for Matthew is offset by 207 verses in Luke, and the lowest for Luke by 328 verses in Matthew.

More impressive than the widely varying range of individual reconstructions is the spacious aggregate of Gospel material that has been laid under claim in one way or another. Of the 1068 verses in the text of Matthew, 674 are variously ascribed to 'Q', i.e. 63%; and of Luke's 1149 verses, 619, i.e. 53%. If the first two and ast two chapters of Matthew and Luke, being generally recognized s peculiar to their authors, are not taken into the reckoning, hen the proportions for the remaining chapters iii-xxvi of Matthew nd iii-xxii of Luke are even more striking, viz. Matthew 674 out f 934 verses, and Luke, 619 out of 909 verses, that is, in each case nore than two-thirds of these chapters. In chapters iii-xiii of Matthew, total of 405 verses, only 46 verses escape ascription to 'Q', and he whole of chapter xviii, 34 verses, and of chapters xxii-xxv, 81 verses, are ascribed to 'Q'. In Luke, the whole of the extended ection ix 57-xviii 16, a total of 346 consecutive verses, is variously scribed to 'Q'. It should be added that the extent of the above utlines would be further increased, not diminished, if more recent reconstructions of 'Q' were to be included in the survey.

The most surprising feature that emerges from comparison of these reconstructions is one that underlines their subjectivity and arbitrariness. When it is freely asserted by supporters of the 'Q' hypothesis that Matthew and Luke have *in common* non-Marcan material amounting to approximately 200 verses and that this is at least a starting point for the determination of 'Q', it were surely not unreasonable to expect some indications of a measure of unanimity in the passages claimed for 'Q'. But the expectation is overwhelmingly discouraged. For in the whole range of material allotted to 'Q', there is from Matthew *not even one verse* of the 200 or any other that is common to all seventeen reconstructions; and from Luke there are no more than eighteen verses (vii 24-26, 28, 31-35, x 13-14, 21-22, xi 29-31, xvii 26-27) shared by all thirteen reconstructions. The absence of even a mild display of unanimity, in conjunction with the lack of restriction in the quantity of material laid under obligation, conspires to destroy confidence in the hypothesis.

The malleability of this nebulous hypothesis makes 'Q' a letter to conjure with. Its protean nature allows the magician to endow his production with whatsoever characteristics he may choose, and he is encouraged to adopt for 'Q' the principle that Humpty Dumpty paraded when Alice sought a definition of 'glory': 'it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less'. With achievement assessed at its real and not its face value, the quest for the hypothetical 'Q' bids fair to rank as one of the most futile pursuits of synoptic criticism.

The 'Q' hypothesis, it is not always remembered, does not and cannot stand on its own feet. As the alleged source of the non-Marcan material common to Matthew and Luke, it is dependent on prior acceptance of the Marcan hypothesis. Under the most favourable terms, it still remains a hypothesis built on another hypothesis. In this secondary capacity it is of course more vulnerable than the primary hypothesis on whose previous acceptance it depends. So long as the priority of Mark is unquestioned, together with its use by Matthew and Luke, there may be some basis on which to start reconstructing 'Q'. But the Marcan hypothesis has by no means won unanimous approval. It is again being challenged, recently by Dom Christopher BUTLER and by Professor PIERSON PARKER, and in so far as any challenge is successful, the hypothetical foundation of the secondary 'Q' is disturbed and 'Q' is bereft of justification.

Even granting the soundness of the Marcan hypothesis, difficulty is not thereby overcome. 'Q' is *ex hypothesi* the non-Marcan material drawn upon by Matthew and Luke, and therefore what comes from Mark must first be accurately determined. But this is easier to propose than to achieve, and there are strong differences of opinion as to whether certain passages should be attributed to Mark or to 'Q'. When there is this uncertainty in relation to the tangible Mark, there must inevitably be much greater uncertainty in regard to the intangible 'Q', with consequent resort to precarious guesswork. In any case, in thus being compelled to seek 'Q' by first eliminating what comes from Mark, it were a hazardous procedure to use what is salvaged as a check on doubtful passages in the remainder. But when it is obvious that even the Marcan passages cannot certainly be distinguished, the hazardous procedure succumbs to unchecked speculation.

In turn, the alleged extent of 'Q' is not without repercussion affecting the Marcan hypothesis. By encroaching on what is considered to be Marcan material (e.g. Matthew viii 2-4, xiii 1-9, Luke v 12-16, vi 3-5, viii 4-8, xviii 15-16), some of the proposed reconstructions of 'Q' would undermine confidence in what belongs to Mark, and thereby make for uncertainty regarding the alleged relations between Mark and the other Gospels. The reconstructors of 'Q' cannot eat their cake and have it.

Notwithstanding any pretensions to the contrary, one of the gravest shortcomings in the search for 'Q' is the lack, or the avoidance, of objectivity. What is 'Q'? Nobody answers with real conviction. Usually the best that can be offered is *so-and-so's reconstruction* of 'Q'. There is even a reconstruction based on the common features of other reconstructions—a sort of 'Q' of 'Q''s, and surely a *reductio ad absurdum*. The argument is in constant danger of becoming a circular one: a decision having been reached as to what 'Q' should be, its reconstruction is undertaken accordingly, and the result is then presented as convincing evidence for 'Q'. It is here that the whole discussion of 'Q' presents an air of unreality, in that in each case it is never quite the same thing that is under consideration. Each reaches his own conclusion from his own reconstruction of his own data, and the inclusion or omission of verses may alter the whole aspect of the discussion, illustrating how in this particular matter it is disturbingly true:

> Oh, the little more, and how much it is!
> And the little less, and what worlds away!

However reluctant its acknowledgment, the stubborn fact persists, that the 'Q' hypothesis, although it has now had a long time in which thoroughly to establish itself, has offered nothing that is really substantial. It appears that, when there is subtracted from Matthew, Mark and Luke what they have in common, there still remains some common material shared by Matthew and Luke. Without far more substantial evidence than has so far been offered, to pronounce where the material comes from and whether it be from one or many sources, oral or written, is sheer guesswork, and for those who retain the hypothesis, 'Q' is only what they choose to make it.

Perhaps the whole Synoptic question should be thrown back into the melting-pot and the matter of literary relationships, if any, be faced anew.

ANTI-SEMITISM IN ST. MARK'S GOSPEL

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St. Mark's attitude to the Jewish nation is somewhat complicated and could not be adequately characterised in a simple, unqualified statement. Thus while he may believe that the Jews [1] enjoy the God-given prerogative of being the first among men to have the gospel addressed to them [2] and even that the heathen can only have the opportunity of knowing the way of salvation after the Messiah has actually been rejected by his own people [3], yet he seems to take the view that Jesus in some measure anticipates the work of the church's mission to the Gentiles. For in v 1 ff. Jesus passes into heathen territory and, in consequence of the marvellous cure which he performs there, his fame as a mediator of the mercy of God is spread abroad among the inhabitants of Decapolis; and in vii 24 ff. he journeys as far north as the region of Tyre and effects a miraculous exorcism from a distance on the daughter of a Syrophoenician woman. It may be unfair to take the children's bread and throw it to the dogs, but there is no good reason why the latter should not eat of the crumbs which are left under the children's table [4].

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[1] In the second gospel, apart from the five instances of the title 'the King of the Jews' (xv 2; xv 9; xv 12; xv 18; xv 26), the actual expression 'the Jews' occurs only once, in a passage (vii 3 f.) which is probably an editorial notice (and therefore relatively late) and which has a context whose subject-matter is polemical. On the other hand, the expression occurs about seventy times in the fourth gospel where the Jews, appearing as the agreed enemies of Jesus, play much the same role as that played by the hierarchs in the synoptic gospels.

[2] Cp. vii 27, which perhaps implies that the bread of life must needs be offered to Israel before it can be dispensed among the Gentiles.

[3] Cp. xv 39, where a representative of the non-Jewish world testifies to the truth of the gospel after the Jews have done as they pleased with Jesus.

[4] Cp. vii 28 f. For the conception of the necessary precedence of the Jews, cp. Rom. i 16 (where, however, the 'first' is omitted in B and G); Rom. ii 9-10; Acts xiii 46. St. Mark may have held that just as the Messiah comes to the Jews and is rejected by them before a Gentile can make the Christian

Moreover, in any attempt to understand St. Mark's thought on the Jewish question it is important to bear in mind that the mutual relations between Judaism and Christianity tended to deteriorate with the passage of time. When the gospel was being written the apostolic message was meeting with wide acceptance in the non-Jewish world, but the Jews for the most part continued to show themselves unwilling to respond to its appeal. St. Paul seems to have regarded the recalcitrance of his own nation as a temporary state of affairs, and even towards the end of his career he could still look forward to the day when all Israel would be saved (cp. Rom. xi 25 ff.). But the apostle's hope of a conciliation was not to find fulfilment. Anti-Jewish feeling within the church became more intense and, on the Jewish side, the judgment appears to have prevailed in certain influential circles that the affirmation of the Messiahship of Jesus was in itself an offence sufficiently serious to merit the infliction of a capital sentence ¹). Accordingly, St. Mark, despite his doctrine of the divine necessity of the passion, seeks to show that the Jews as represented by their leaders of the period are to be held morally responsible for the most terrible crime of rejecting the only Son of God who came among men solely for the purpose of serving and redeeming them ²).

It is true that St. Mark, unlike the author of the fourth gospel (cp. Jn. xx 30 f.), nowhere gives open expression to his sympathies and, save in xiii 14, he does not address his readers directly. But there can be little doubt regarding the general nature of the constituency for which the gospel is intended. It is evidently a limited constituency, in which the names of Alexander and Rufus, the

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confession of faith, so the word of God must first be spoken to the Jews and be rejected by them before the apostolic missionaries are able to turn their attention to the Gentiles.

¹) Cp. my paper on the competence of the sanhedrin in *Vigiliae Christianae*, vol. 10 (1956), p. 93.

²) Cp. x 45. In the account of the crucifixion the incident of the rending of the temple veil (xv 38) may be partly meant as a form of testimony to the divine nature of Jesus, in which case it provides a Jewish parallel (in addition to that of viii 29) to the testimony of the natural world (xv 33) and to that of the Gentile world (xv 39). This Jewish testimony, however, unlike its Gentile counterpart, may not be given by a human being because of the evangelist's belief in the culpability of the Jews for the crucifixion; the temple here seems to symbolise the Jewish religious ideal from which the people themselves have fallen short; cp. viii 29, where Peter represents the true Israel.

sons of Simon of Cyrene, are well known [1]), and in it the validity of the Christian standpoint is taken for granted. Thus the evangelist assumes that the conflict with the Jewish authorities arises from the evil thoughts and malicious scheming of the scribes and others (cp. ii 6-8; iii 6; xii 13; xiv 1), not as a result of any design or wrong on the part of Jesus. Even Pilate is aware of the innocence of him who is called King of the Jews, and knows that the chief priests have delivered him up because they are envious of him (cp. xv 10 ff.). Jesus fulfils a divine commission and hence he does not wish to subvert the God-given law of Moses, but carefully complies with its requirements (cp. i 44; vii 9-13; xii 28-34). In so far as the moral and spiritual principles he enunciates are at variance with the enactments of the law as these are commonly understood, his teaching is securely founded upon a deeper appreciation of the true meaning of the scriptures and of the divine will. He shows, for example, that it was only on account of man's hardness of heart that the law made provision for a husband's possible desire to divorce his wife: and a mere concession to the weakness of human nature should not be construed as a direct expression of God's will for men (cp. x 1 ff.). In the evangelist's judgment, therefore, it is really the scribes and Pharisees who make void the word of God by maintaining a tradition of purely human invention which perverts the real significance of scriptural statements [2]); and, similarly, it is the Sadducees who are seriously at fault in their hermeneutics when they fail to realise that the God of the patriarchs is the God not of the dead but of the living (cp. xii 26 f.). The standard of inward purity which Jesus propounds and explains (vii 14 ff.) is more fundamental in God's sight, so it is implied, than all the rules for ceremonial cleanness for, as was revealed to the prophet Isaiah, a people may honour God with their lips, that is, to all outward seeming, while their heart is far from him (cp. vii 1 ff.). In fact, the correct attitude to the law—and any sensible scribe perforce recognises it—is determined by the regulative principle involved in the two commandments of love to God and love to one's neighbour, practical adherence to which is of far greater religious importance than the offering of all the holocausts and sacrifices ever prescribed (cp. xii 28 ff.).

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[1]) See xv 21. The other synoptists leave out the allusion to Alexander and Rufus; see Mt. xxvii 32; Lk. xxiii 26.

[2]) See vii 8-13. For the evangelist's conception of the scribal tradition as a purely human artifice which really obscures the will of God, cp. the purely human thoughts of Peter in the rebuke of viii 33 which, from a historical and subordinate standpoint, prevent him from comprehending the meaning of Messiahship in God's real intention.

Furthermore, seeing that the conception of divine retribution played an essential part in the thought of the apostolic church, it is not surprising to find certain passages in which St. Mark betrays the conviction that Israel has already sealed its own doom by rejecting the Messiah [1]. Thus the story of the withering of the fig-tree, the earlier and later parts of which are separated by the account of the cleansing of the temple [2], would seem to symbolise the terrible fate which must inevitably befall the Jewish nation [3]. Israel stands under the curse of the Messiah and therefore of God himself [4] because it has failed to bring forth the fruit [5] which one would naturally have expected of a privileged people; but, as is suggested by the intercalation (xi 15-18), this condemnation is also the historical ground of the shameful end of the Messiah himself. For Jesus' violent, but legitimate (cp. xi 17), censure of the Jews for their misuse of the temple is presented as the immediate occasion of the fateful decision which leads directly to the arrest and crucifixion (cp. xi 18). Thus the evangelist appears to have a significant parallel in mind: Jesus condemns the nation to which he belongs, and this very condemnation brings about his own death as well as the ruin of the Jewish people. The death of the Messiah, that is to say, involves the destruction of Israel and, from another point of view, the destruction of Israel involves the death of the Messiah [1]). Again, in the parable of xii 1ff. the wicked husbandmen refuse to deliver the fruit which is rightly demanded of them and eventually they go so far as to murder the landlord's beloved or only son; the result is that the landlord destroys his faithless tenants and confides the vineyard to the care of others. Thus the defection of God's chosen people means their own perdition, and yet it redounds to the benefit of the rest of mankind. The Gentiles inherit the promises; thanks to the disobedience of the Jews, they are now able to enjoy the mercy of God (cp. Rom xi 30).

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[1] The doctrine of divine retribution (cp. viii 38; ix 41-48; x 28-31 etc.), which received great emphasis in the prophetic religion of the Old Testament, was derived by Christianity from Judaism. St. Paul puts it succinctly in the familiar words: 'Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.' (Gal. vi 7). The expression 'the wrath of God' is frequently used of God's reaction to sin (cp. Rom. i 18 etc.). St. Paul already applies the principle to the Jews for killing the Lord Jesus and the prophets and for driving out the apostolic preachers (1 Thess. ii 14-16). But with the widening of the breach between church and synagogue, there was a natural tendency for this idea to become increasingly prominent: cp. Mt. xxvii 25; Jn. viii 24; ix 35-41.

[2] See xi 12-25. St. Mark shows a predilection for such intercalations. Sometimes the intercalation seems simply to signify a lapse of time, as in the story of the raising of the little girl (v 21-24; v 35-43) which is divided into two parts by the account of the healing of the woman with an issue (v 25-34). But in other instances a parallel seems to be intended, as in the story dealing with Jesus' relatives (iii 20-21; iii 31-35) which is divided by the account of the Beelzebul controversy (iii 22-30), and as in the present case of the story concerning the fig-tree (xi 12-14; xi 19-25) which is divided by the account of the cleansing of the temple (xi 15-18). A contrast is set forth in xiv 1-11: the devotion of the woman who anoints Jesus' head (xiv 3-9) is presented on a sinister background of malicious scheming (xiv 1-2; xiv 10-11). The story of the mission of the twelve is divided into two parts (vi 7-13; vi 30) by the narrative regarding the attitude of Herod and the death of the Baptist (vi 14-29); in this case the intercalation is perhaps meant to allow for the time required for the completion of the mission and also to draw a contrast between a certain measure of popular success and the danger of opposition in high political circles.

[3] Cp. the unproductive fig-tree of the parable in Lk. xiii 6-9.

[4] Conversely, certain authorities on the Jewish side seem to have considered that Jesus was cursed: hence the mode of his death; cp. Gal. iii 10-14.

[5] For the metaphorical use of the imagery of the tree and its fruit to signify the moral agent and his conduct, cp. the sayings in Mt. iii 8-10/Lk. iii 8-9; Mt. vii 15 ff.

Accordingly, if the foregoing considerations are sound, it is part of St. Mark's doctrinal purpose to make it plain to his readers that the ill-will of Jesus' own countrymen was the determining factor behind the crucifixion, and hence that the burden of guilt for this gross injustice is to be borne by a people whose God-given privileges only serve to make their conduct the more reprehensible. Such a motif, however, naturally gives rise to a certain inconsistency in the evangelist's treatment of his material. For, in so far as he is concerned to emphasize the culpability of the Jews, he tends to contravene the requirement of his more general doctrine of the messianic secret by allowing the real nature of Jesus to come out, as it were, into the light of day. Consequently, in St. Mark's representation, Jesus does not always address the public in the cryptology of parables, as he is said to do in iv 34a, and he does not always seek to perform his miracles in private, as he does, for example, in v 40; vii 33; viii 23 ¹). On the contrary, in certain passages the fact of the Messiahship is to a greater or less extent exposed to public view, and so it may be maintained that the Jews are in an inexcusable position, having perpetrated their crime not in ignorance, but with a cognisance of that for which Jesus stands (cp. Rom. i 20). Thus in ii 1-iii, 6 ²), where we are presented with a series of five controversy-stories ³), Jesus shows little indication

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[1]) The evangelist's capacity to combine a theological doctrine of predestination with a lively belief in the reality of moral responsibility seems to be reflected in the story of the fig-tree; though it is not the season for figs (xi 13c), yet the tree is cursed for its fruitlessness.

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¹) Cp. my articles in *Novum Testamentum*, vol. 1 (1956), pp. 246 ff., and in *Theologische Zeitschrift*, vol. 12 (1956), pp. 585 ff.

²) The stories of this section may have already been collected and edited before St. Mark wrote; and it is not impossible that the similar stories of xii 13-44 were derived from the same (written) source, for iii 6 and xii 13 are the only passages in the work which mention the Herodians. The stories of both sections deal with questions of Jewish religious thought and practice, and it may be noted that in each of the sections one or two isolated sayings of the Lord are included (ii 21-22; xii 38-40) in addition to the paradigms. The conversation of xii 28-34, however, may have been introduced by St. Mark himself in order to show that Jesus did not really violate the law (cp. i 40-45). Perhaps iii 6 (which may have replaced the original conclusion of the isolated paradigm) is due to the postulated pre-Markan compiler who wished to draw attention to the ultimate issue of the conflict; and in the supposed source xii 13 (without 'of the Pharisees and of the Herodians') would be the immediate sequel of iii 6.

³) If St. Mark does not take ii 13f. to be integral to ii 15-17, there are six stories in this section, but still only five controversy-stories. We may assume that v. 13 is editorial (perhaps due to St. Mark himself); it introduced the call of Levi which, like the call related in i 16-20, takes place at the seaside. It may be that the saying of the Lord in v. 17 originally justified the call of v. 14, vv. 15-16a having been added by the evangelist. The opposition objected to Jesus' association with publicans, but instead of 'associate' they say 'eat' (with reference to the laws of cleanness), and the evangelist provides an appropriate background by supposing a meal (cp. Dibelius: *From Tradition to Gospel* (London, 1934), p. 64, n. 1). But this would seem to leave vv. 14 and 16b without satisfactory connection, and perhaps vv. 13 f. should be understood on the same lines as i 16-20, as a self-contained story with its own lesson. Also, St. Mark shows a liking for series of three: thus he presents three parables in iv 1-34, three predictions of the passion in viii 27-10, 52, three miracle-stories in iv 35-5, 43 (if v 21-43 may be taken as a single story) after the relatively prolonged teaching of iv 1-34, and three miracle-stories in vii 24-viii 10 after the relatively prolonged teaching of vii 1-23. Hence the evangelist may well regard the section as made up of six stories: the first three (ii 1-17) concern sins and sinners, the second three (ii 18-3, 6) concern Jewish religious customs; words and deeds of the Lord give the church's answers to the questions involved (cp. LOHMEYER: *Das Evangelium des Markus* (Göttingen, 1951) p. 49). Perhaps ii 17 once circulated as an isolated saying, vv. 15f. having been composed to supply it with a particular occasion. It is historically unlikely that the scribes of the Pharisees would have been present at such a meal! Rather, they are introduced as the agreed enemies of Jesus. The apostolic church would see in the paradigm a justification of its

of desiring to shun the multitude, and in this respect the section stands in remarkable contrast to what immediately precedes (i 14-45) and follows (iii 7-19). It includes no confession by a demon and no injunction to silence. Indeed, Jesus performs two miraculous healings in the presence of his opponents (ii 1-12; iii 1-6); he publicly speaks of the purpose of his mission (ii 17), tacitly identifies himself with the Son of Man (ii 10; ii 28), and uses language which implies that the time is coming when he will be no longer with his disciples (ii 19b-20; cp. iii 6).

It must not be thought, however, that the section under consideration is wholly devoid of connection with the preceding narrative. In the first place, there does not seem to be any real inconsistency between i 45 and ii 1 f., for the evangelist probably does not intend the μηκέτι of i 45 to be taken in an absolutely strict sense, any more then he means by the μηκέτι χωρεῖν of ii 2 that the house could not possibly contain one more person; and in ii 1 he does not report that Jesus goes 'openly' into Capernaum. Actually, ii 1 f. may imply that Jesus is still being pursued by the people (cp. i 37; i 45) since he is in a house (perhaps that of Simon; cp. i 29), the multitude evidently resorting to him there, though this time in order to hear his preaching of the word; and as we gather from such passages as vii 17 and vii 24, the evangelist sometimes uses the term 'house' to denote a place of retreat from the public [1]). In the second place, the preceding narrative shows how Jesus established a reputation in the region of Galilee both as a teacher and as a worker of miracles and how he gained the allegiance of some;

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own mixed membership, and the table-fellowship would probably be taken signifying fellowship in general. The disciples are questioned presumably as the representatives of the Christian communities concerned (cp. BULTMANN: *Die Geschichte der synopt. Tradition* (Göttingen, 1931), p. 16).

[1]) The question of the extent to which St. Mark himself may be responsible for ii 1 f. constitutes a delicate problem. The anacalouthon in ii 1, suggests that the words 'it was reported that he was at home' may have been part of the story's introduction as the evangelist found it; and v. 4 seems to presuppose an earlier notice setting the scene in a house. But vv. 1a, 2 may well be due to St. Mark. Like St. John, he shows a fondness for πάλιν (ii 1a); he employs it as a very unemphatic connecting link, and hence ii 1; ii 13; iii 1 do not necessarily refer back to i 21a; i 16; i 21b respectively. For 'he spoke the word to them' (ii 2c), cp. viii 32a. It may also be noted here that the impersonal plural (ii 3) occurs over twenty times in St. Mark's work; the other symoptists usually alter it by inserting a definite subject or (especially St. Luke) by substituting the passive voice (cp. C. H. TURNER in J.T.S., vol. 25 (1924), pp. 378 ff. and vol. 29 (1928), pp. 283 ff.).

hence in ii 1 ff. the evangelist is able to assume that Jesus is already being accompanied by a more or less permanent body of disciples [1]). n the third place, the story of the cleansing of the leper [2]) seems o have a reference forwards to ii 1 ff., as well as a reference backwards to i 14-39. It takes up the theme of what precedes, in that t emphasises the essential power of Jesus, which is such that despite his aversion to any form of self-advertisement, he wins widespread fame as a worker of miraculous healings (cp. i 44 with 25; i 34, and i 45 with i 28; i 35). The miracle described, in fact, affords a particularly striking illustration of the Lord's supernatural authority, and the story perhaps contains a suggestion of his superiority to the law. For the latter may provide rules for detecting leprosy and methods for removing the ensuing defilement, but it supplies no recipe for the cure of the disease (cp. Rom. viii 3). Also, unlike Naaman in the scriptural story, this man is not required to wash himself seven times in the river Jordan (cp. 2 Kgs. v 10); Jesus' touch and word alone are sufficient to effect an instantaneous cure. But besides having a significant connection with what is related in the foregoing narrative, the story seems to have an important bearing on the controversies which follow, as we have already suggested. For in i 44 Jesus is apparently concerned that the man should not regard himself as clean before the priest has pronounced his verdict. Thus, by placing the story in its present context, the evangelist probably means to imply that Jesus respects the law and hence that he is not the guilty party in the conflict about to be delineated [3]).

The first of the controversy-stories—the account of the healing of the paralytic (ii 1-12)—is of special interest, because it is the only passage in the gospel which concerns the right to forgive sins [4]). While the evangelist apparently holds that all the miraculous deeds of Jesus provide evidence of his supernatural power, in this case it is explicitly stated (v. 10) that the miracle is performed in order that the seated scribes ¹) may come to acknowledge the Son of Man's authority on earth to forgive sins. And it is not altogether unfitting that this particular question should be dealt with at the present stage since, according to i 4, the appointed forerunner has announced a baptism of repentance unto remission of sins. It is noteworthy, however, that the question of forgiveness appears only in vv 5b-10, which form the central part of the story before us; and it seems likely, as LOISY maintained, that these verses are an interpolation. Without them the story is a Novelle, not a controversy-story at all, and so we may presume that the interpolation had already been made before St. Mark undertook his work. The faith of the paralytic and of those who carry him is shown by the action described in v. 4 ²) and is recognised by Jesus in v. 5a, while vv. 11f. evince three characteristic motifs of miracle-stories, namely, the potent command of the healer, the demonstration of the success of the miracle and the amazement of the spectators. The impression produced on the hostile scribes finds no mention, for they would hardly be included among those who glorify God in v. 12, and we are perhaps meant to take it for granted that they are temporarily put to silence (cp. iii 4). The parenthesis with its awkward change of subject in the address of vv. 10 f. is quite understandable on the assumption that v. 10 is the ending of an interpolation and that v. 11 was once the immediate continuation of v. 5a ³).

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[1]) The term 'disciples' first occurs in ii 15.

[2]) i 40-45. The first evangelist apparently attaches special importance to this story, for it appears at the head of his selection of ten miracle-stories presented in Mt. 8 f.

[3]) Since Jesus touches the leper (i 41), it may be thought that he does not comply with the law, otherwise he would have taken measures to remove his own defilement. But Jesus is the agent in the story and healing power would pass from him to the patient (cp. v 30). Presumably, such a conception would exclude the idea of a passage of defilement from the patient to Jesus.

[4]) Cp. Lk. vii 48, where Jesus assures the woman who anoints his feet that her sins are forgiven.

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¹) Cp. i 22, where the Lord's mode of teaching is contrasted with that of the scribes. It is unlikely that the scribes here remain seated out of disrespect, since in iii 31-35 the true family of the Messiah is represented in the form of a seated audience. On the other hand, in the first gospel no one sits in the presence of Jesus, save when he hangs on the cross (Mt. xxvii 36)—and of course at meals (Mt. xv 35).

²) WELLHAUSEN conjectured that 'they uncovered the roof' rests on a misunderstanding of an Aramaic original meaning 'they brought him up to the roof'. H. JAHNOW (Z.N.T.W., vol. 24 (1925), pp. 155 ff.) suggests that originally the men would go into the house by way of the roof in order to prevent the demon from becoming aware of the proper entrance; but cp. the article by S. KRAUSS in Z.N.T.W., vol. 25 (1926), pp. 307 ff.

³) H. PERNOT (*Expository Times*, vol. 38 (1926-7), p. 106) suggests that the ἵνα in v. 10 is used in a sense which it has in modern Greek, and that the translation should run: ' "Well, you will see that the Son of Man has power on earth to forgive sins." He says to the paralytic, "I say to you, Arise . . ." ' D. S. SHARP (*Ex. T.*, vol. 38, pp. 428 f.) question the validity of this interpretation, and translates as follows: ' "But know assuredly that the Son of Man has authority to forgive sins on earth." He says to the para-

In view of St. Mark's doctrine of the secret, one may be tempted to argue with WELLHAUSEN and others that the expression 'the Son of Man' in v. 10 (and in v. 28 of the same chapter) refers not to the speaker as such, but to humanity in general ¹). But there does not seem to be sufficient justification for this exegesis, for there is ample evidence that the evangelist does not work out his theory of the messianic secret with strict logical consistency. Thus on xii 12, for example, the hierarchs evidently understand the meaning of a parable in which Jesus really alludes to himself as God's beloved or only Son; and in xiv 62 the Master makes a public acknowledgement of his Messiahship and confidently informs his judges that they shall see the Son of Man coming with the clouds of heaven. It would appear, indeed, that St. Mark is not wholly satisfied with his doctrine of the secret and that he is feeling his way after a mode of representation analogous to that of the fourth evangelist ²). Moreover, whatever the supposed original significance of ii 10 and ii 28 may be, there is reason for thinking that St. Mark and his readers would be interested not so much in the right of men generally to forgive sins as in the right of the church to perform

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lytic . . .' By this rendering SHARP claims to avoid an awkward parenthesis, and for the use of ἵνα with the subjunctive as a virtual imperative, he compares v 23 and refers to MOULTON and MILLIGAN: *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (London, 1914/29) Part 4, p. 305a (3). In our view, however, there is no need to take the ἵνα in any other than its usual sense. The disjointed construction is due to the interpolation. Neither PERNOT nor SHARP succeeds in eliminating abruptness from the passage.

¹) For a defence of this interpretation, cp. *The Beginnings of Christianity* (eds. FOAKES-JACKSON and LAKE), vol. 1, pp. 378 f. It may be noticed here that apart from ii 10; ii 28, the expression 'the Son of Man' does not occur before Peter's confession (viii 29). After viii 29 it is used twelve times and in seven of these instances (viii 31; ix 12; ix 31; x 33; xiv 21 (twice); xiv 41) the necessity of the Son of Man's suffering is brought out. Of the remaining five instances, three (viii 38; xiii 26; xiv 62) are concerned with the parousia, one (ix 9) with the resurrection, and one (x 45) with the redemptive purpose of the incarnate life. On the other hand, St. Matthew and St. Luke use the expression more freely than St. Mark of the whole course of the Lord's earthly career (cp. for example, Mt. xi 19; Lk. ix 58). For the view that Jesus, as in Dan. vii 13, used the expression in a collective sense with reference to the community of the saints of the Most High, cp. T. W. MANSON: *The Teaching of Jesus* (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 211 ff., and *The Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, vol. 32 (1950), pp. 171 ff., and for the view that there was a radical opposition in current Jewish expectation between the eschatology of the Son of Man and the eschatology of the Messiah, cp. J. HÉRING: *Le royaume de Dieu et sa venue* (Paris, 1937), pp. 75 ff. But the Son-of-Man sayings may be secondary; see Dr. Vielhauer's valuable contribution to the *Festschrift für Günther Dehn* (Bonn, 1957).

²) Cp. my paper in *New Testament Studies*, vol. 3 (1956-7), pp. 142 ff.

such action. For according to the tradition preserved in Mt. xviii 18 (cp. Mt. xvi 19) and in Jn. xx 23, the Lord conferred upon his followers the authority to forgive sins; and hence it was only natural that attempts should have been made within the church to prove that Jesus himself possessed authority of that kind, especially in view of the Jewish objection that it was blasphemous to ascribe the power to forgive sins to any one other than God [1]).

In St. Mark's story the main contention is that the Messiah's power to heal is a sure sign or token of his power to forgive sins, and this evidently presupposes the popular belief in a causal connection between sin and human affliction. For the idea behind the declaration of forgiveness in v. 5b appears to be that a person who heals thereby removes the moral causes of illness and is therefore able to forgive sins. It must be admitted, however, that such a line of argument would be of doubtful apologetical value. Thus while the assertion that human sins cause human afflictions undoubtedly contains a considerable measure of truth, there is no warrant for assuming that every case of illness is the result of sin committed by the patient. As Jesus seems to recognise in Lk. xiii 1 ff., the suffering of the innocent is as much a fact of common experience as the operation of a principle of moral retribution. Also, the proof of the power to forgive sins by reference to the power to heal is an argument which could be applied to any miracle-worker independently of his moral character. It betrays a tendency to subordinate ethical qualities to thaumaturgical powers; and we may safely say that if such a tendency had prevailed in the church, Christianity would have rapidly degenerated into a mere technique of magic. But thanks to the spiritual discernment of St. Paul and others, the danger was averted, and generally the church aspired after 'the greater gifts' and followed 'a still more excellent way' in its fundamental valuations [2]).

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[1]) In rabbinic literature, while it is assumed that the messianic community will be delivered from sin, the right to forgive sins is never ascribed to the Messiah; this is a right which belongs exclusively to God; cp. S-B, vol. 1, p. 495.

[2]) Cp. 1 Cor. xii 31. The sayings in Mt. vii 22-23; Lk. x 20 seem to be directed against members of the church who were prone to exaggerate the importance of miracle-working; and perhaps the account of the temptations of Jesus in Mt. iv 1ff. Lk. iv 1ff. should be understood in a similar sense; cp. FRIDRICHSEN: *Le problème du miracle* (Strasbourg, 1925), pp. 84 ff., 94 ff. St. Paul could sometimes refer to his own deeds of power as signs of his apostolic authority (cp. 2 Cor. xii 12); but he would not regard them as his sole title to such authority.

Accordingly, it is not surprising to find that Jesus in Jn. ix 1 ff. disapproves of the popular belief that any assignable case of illness is due either to the sin of the sufferer himself or to that of his parents; and, as FRIDRICHSEN pointed out [1]), it may be that Jesus is meant to disapprove of the belief implied in v. 10 of St. Mark's story that the power to heal constitutes a convincing proof of the spiritual authority to forgive sins. Such an interpretation turns on the significance attributed to the counter-question in v. 9 [2]). One possibility is that a declaration of forgiveness is easier than a declaration of healing, since the efficacy of the former is unverifiable, whereas the latter should issue in an observable effect on the patient [3]); and Jesus is represented as naively assuming that anyone would necessarily supply such an answer to the question. On this exegesis, however, one would have expected a καὶ or an οὖν, rather than a δέ, to mark the connection between vv. 9 and 10, for the δέ in v. 10 suggests that the two verses may stand in opposition to each other. If this is so, since v. 10 implies that the miraculous healing (being the basis of the proof) is more difficult than the forgiveness of sins, the question in v. 9 must be ironical and have the contrary sense that forgiveness is really the more difficult of the two actions, although the scribes think otherwise—perhaps as a result of the way in which the question is framed, it being of the nature of a trap, like the counterquestion in xi 30. Thus v. 9 may be an interpolation within an interpolation, introduced by St. Mark himself, who is averse to the implications of the story as he receives it. In his view, the argument from the act of healing to the act of forgiveness is an argument from less to more, and yet, seeing that some believers are wont to reason in this way, he allows the story to have a place in his gospel as a mode of demonstration which meets a demand that has won popularity in certain circles. On such an interpretation, therefore, the passage would afford an illustration of the conservative character of the evangelist's manner of dealing with the tradition; in spite of personal disapproval, he does not reject the story, but accomodates it to his own higher point of view by inserting the subtle counter-question of v. 9, which has an inner as well as an outer meaning [1]).

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[1]) See *op. cit.*, pp. 90 ff. Of course Jesus, as he is represented by the fourth evangelist, does not deny that illness is sometimes due to the sin of the sufferer; cp. Jn. v 14.

[2]) The counter-question is characteristic of controversy-stories; cp. iii 4; xi 30; xii 37. For rabbinic parallels, cp. BULTMANN: *op. cit.*, pp. 43 ff.

[3]) Cp. KLOSTERMANN: *Das Markusevangelium* (Tübingen, 1936), p. 23.

The story of the healing of the paralytic is followed by the brief account of the call of Levi the son of Alphaeus [2]) and the controversy-story regarding the Master's association with publicans and sinners (ii 15-17). All three narratives deal with sins or sinners, and perhaps they were first brought together for this reason. With the exception of the two sayings in ii 21 f. (which may be meant to emphasise the necessity of the separation of Christianity from Judaism) and the editorial notice iii 6, the rest of the section is composed of three controversy-stories concerning Jewish religious customs. The first of these (ii 18-20), which is apparently intended as a justification of the Christian practice of fasting on Fridays, provides a further illustration of the conservative character of the tradition; for, in the words of DIBELIUS, 'although the need was felt of justifying fasting, it was preserved in a saying of Jesus really of a contrary tendency' [3]). The two remaining stories afford warrant for the Christian position in the matter of sabbath observance: in ii 23-28 scripture is cited to show that one may work on the sabbath for the purpose of satisfying the physical need for food 1), while in iii 1-5 the practice of healing on the sabbath is defended by means of a counter-question which has the immediate effect of silencing the critics 2). With the notice of the coalition between the

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[1]) Dr. G. H. BOOBYER (H.T.R., vol. 47 (1954), pp. 115 ff.) contends that the only significant editorial adaptation in the story is the interpolation (made by the evangelist himself or by a previous editor) of v. 10a—'But that you may know that the Son of Man has power on earth to forgive sins'—and the omission of a small conjunctive expression before the clause, 'he says to the paralytic' (v. 10b). Dr. BOOBYER thinks that v. 10a is addressed not to the scribes but to the Christian readers of the gospel, and that ii 28 (cp. vii 3) might be understood along the same lines. This exegesis, however, offers no satisfactory explanation of the 'all' in v. 12, which, in view of the persistent hostility of the scribes in St. Mark's gospel, can scarcely be accounted for by being regarded simply as 'an excusable and fairly obvious overstatement' (*ibid.*, p. 119). Moreover, the evangelist does not apply his theory of the messianic secret with the high degree of consistency supposed (*ibid.*, pp. 118 f). Also, failing to recognise the importance of the counterquestion in v. 9, Dr. BOOBYER commits the evangelist to a precarious piece of apologetics without sufficient consideration; cp. also H. A. GUY: *The Origin of the Gospel of Mark* (London, 1954), pp. 87 f.

[2]) ii 13 f. This man is not referred to again in the gospel; thus, unlike the first evangelist (Mt. ix 9) but like the third evangelist (Lk. v 27), St. Mark apparently does not identify him with the Matthew mentioned in the list of the twelve (iii 18). It has been conjectured that he was a brother of James the son of Alphaeus.

[3]) See *op. cit.*, p. 66. The original saying seems to be preserved in v. 19a, vv. 19b-20 (which presuppose the passion) being a secondary composition appended after the church had adopted the practice of fasting. Dr. BULTMANN (*op. cit.*, pp. 17 f.) sees the original form of the story in vv. 18b-19a; he thinks that the story in this form was a construction (based on the traditional saying of v. 19a) made in the *Urgemeinde* when the question of the relation between Christianity and the Baptist sect was a matter of immediate

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interest; in this case, it would be assumed in the *Urgemeinde* that 'the bridegroom' remained with 'the sons of the bride-chamber' after the crucifixion. As a parallel to v. 19a, Dr. Bultmann cites the Indian proverb: 'Who eats gruel on the day of rejoicing?' (*ibid*, p. 107, n. 1). The figure of the wedding-feast is sometimes used of the days of the Messiah in rabbinic writings; cp. S-B, vol. 1, p. 517. Although the law does not require that certain days of the week should be regularly kept as fast-days, it seems that certain enthusiastic Pharisees established the practice of fasting on Monday and Thursday of each week as a special act of piety, and the church eventually took over the custom of fasting twice a week, but altered the days to Wednesday and Friday; cp. Lk. xviii 12; *Didachē*, viii 1; *Ap. Constitutions*, vii 23, 1; for other references, cp. T. W. Manson: *The Mission and Message of Jesus* (London 1937) p. 603; G. F. Moore: *Judaism* (Harvard, 1927/30) vol. 2, p. 260.

1) It was unlawful to pluck standing corn on the sabbath, since such action was regarded as a form of harvest labour; cp. S-B, vol. 1, pp. 615 ff. For the view that the story originally ended at v. 26, cp. Bultmann: *ibid.*, pp. 14f. According to 1 Sam. xxi 1 ff., it was Ahimelech, not Abiathar (v. 26), who gave David the shewbread. It may be, however, that the phrase ἐπὶ Ἀβιαθὰρ ἀρχιερέως should be rendered 'at the passage of scripture concerning (or entitled) Abiathar the high priest', for in Mk. xii 26 ἐπὶ τοῦ βάτου evidently means 'at the passage of scripture concerning (or entitled) The Bush' (see the note by J. W. Wenham in J.T.S., n.s., vol. 1 (1950), p. 156).

2) Actually, the probable answer of the Pharisees would have been: it is good to heal on the sabbath only when the patient is dangerously ill; cp. S.B, vol. 1, p. 623. But attention should be called to the interesting notes on Mk. ii 1-iii 6 in the third appendix of Dr. H. Riesenfeld's *Jésus transfiguré* (Copenhagen, 1947) pp. 318 ff. The author agrees with Dr. J. Jeremias (*Jesus als Weltvollender* (Gütersloh, 1930) pp. 21 ff.) that ii 18-22 should be understood eschatologically (the messianic age having come, fasting is no longer practised), and he goes on to argue that the next two pericopes should be understood in the same kind of sense. In ii 23 ff. Jesus does not speak as a rabbi against rabbis—rather the conduct of the disciples in plucking (and eating) the ears of corn prefigures the great sabbath of the messianic epoch; the old sabbath has been replaced, a point which the Pharisees do not grasp; the ears of corn symbolise the eschatological and eucharistic bread, and David, as prototype of the Messiah, performs an action which anticipates the Christian communion. Similarly, in iii 1ff. we have not really a legalistic dispute—the point is rather that the old sabbath has been replaced by the new one of the messianic age; in the Aramaic behind the phrase 'to do good on the sabbath' there may have been a play on words, the expression 'the good day' having come to be used for the sabbath, and so the original meaning could have been that 'doing good' (a messianic motif) is the proper way to celebrate 'the good day' of the messianic epoch. Dr. Riesenfeld further suggests that ii 13-17 represents the eschatological meal as well as the eucha-

religious and the civil authorities in iii 6 [1]), this first series of controversy-stories is brought to a conclusion; by informing the reader that the authorities conspire to do away with Jesus, the remark really points forward to the final outcome of the conflict which is to be described in detail in the passion-narrative.

Next come two generalising passages, probably composed by the evangelist himself as a foil to the preceding controversies. In iii 7-12 Jesus is again by the sea [2]), and so great is his reputation that a large multitude of people, drawn from such widely separated places as Jerusalem and Sidon, resort to him there; nevertheless, the messianic secret is carefully guarded (vv. 11 f.). In iii 13-19 Jesus ascends a mountain (cp. Mt. xxviii 16) and selects a body of twelve men (a list of whose names is appended) that they might accompany him and that he might send them forth to preach and to have authority to exorcise demons. Seeing that in the course of time the content of their preaching is to become the gospel of Jesus, the Messiah, the Son of God, we may assume that the evangelist construes the appointment of the twelve to represent the foundation of the Christian church. Hence it is not unnatural that he should return to the theme of opposition in the passage which

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rist, and he connects ii 1-12 (which he considers to be all of a piece) with the rite of baptism, a rite involving the remission of sins and, like miraculous healing, requiring faith. It seems unlikely, however, that the evangelist himself attached an eschatological meaning to ii 18 ff., ii 23 ff. and iii 1 ff. It is not impossible that ii 19a was originally meant in an eschatological sense, and that such a significance was largely removed when the qualification in vv. 19b-20 was added. Dr. RIESENFELD's proposals are of more doubtful worth as far as ii 23 ff. and iii 1 ff. are concerned, the usual interpretations in this case being in accord with the teaching of Jesus as it is expressed in such passages as vii 1 ff. and xii 28 ff., where the moral is exalted above the ceremonial; in xii 18 ff. Jesus does not contemplate the abolition of the institution of marriage until the general resurrection of the dead (which may presumably coincide with the parousia) and perhaps he did not envisage the supersession of the institution of the sabbath until the same date. It is quite possible that St. Mark read ii 13 ff. in the light of the eucharist, but Dr RIESENFELD's suggestions with respect to ii 1 ff. do not appear to carry very much weight, the element of faith providing too slender a connecting link to warrant the introduction of the notion of baptism into the exegesis of the pericope.

[1]) In LOHMEYER's judgment (*op. cit.*, p. 67) it is historically unlikely that Pharisees would have deigned to form a coalition with supporters of the house of Herod, which was generally regarded among the Jews as a foreign dynasty; he thinks that the pro-Pharisaic policy of Agrippa I (d. 44 A.D.) may have first suggested the idea of such a coalition.

[2]) With the exception of the special case of vi 1ff., Jesus does not again appear inside a synagogue in St. Mark's gospel.

immediately follows 1)), for at the time of writing the Jewish people, to whom Jesus primarily addressed himself, had proved themselves to be the most intransigent antagonists of the gospel proclaimed by the apostolic church. But now the conflict becomes more bitter than hitherto because it assumes a wholly personal character. Jesus belonged to Israel and fulfilled the messianic hopes of the prophets, yet he was rejected by the religious leaders of Israel. To employ the phraseology of the fourth evangelist, the Messiah came to his own and they that were his own did not receive him (cp. Jn. i 11); and such seems to be the poignant reflection of St. Mark in the passage under consideration. By intercalating a story 2) between the earlier and the later part of another 3)), he suggests a significant parallel between the kinsfolk of Jesus, who declare that he is beside himself (v. 21) and apparently seek to prevent him from continuing his work (vv. 21, 31), and the scribes from Jerusalem, who ascribe his extraordinary powers to the inspiration of Beelzebul, the prince of the demons (v. 22). On the other hand, when the matter is considered in a broader perspective, it is seen that the blindness and the hostility of Jesus'

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1) iii 20-35. This passage stands in noteworthy contrast to iii 7-19 where: 1. the scene is set by the sea and then on a mountain; 2. people come from a wide area and Jesus chooses the twelve; 3. the demons acknowledge Jesus' divine Sonship; 4. Jesus frees the possessed. But in iii 20-35: 1. the scene is set in a house; 2. Jesus' mother and his brothers come from their home (cp. vi 3 which may imply that only his sisters are still at home) and the scribes come from Jerusalem; 3. it is alleged that Jesus is an agent of Beelzebul; 4. Jesus himself is said to be possessed.

2) iii 22-30. The basis of this story may be preserved in vv. 22b-26 (the objection and the twofold answer). Perhaps it was once preceded by a miracle-story (cp. Mt. xii 22/Lk. xi 14) which St. Mark did not require in view of vv. 9-12. V. 22a (cp. the indefinite subject τινες in Lk. xi 15) may be partly due to the evangelist, and v. 30 wholly so. Possibly vv. 27-29 were originally two isolated traditional sayings of Jesus. (Cp. BULTMANN: *op. cit.*, pp. 10 ff.). The reply (vv. 23-26), unlike the objection (v. 22b), presupposes a consistent moral dualism between the forces of Satan and the forces of God; v. 22b is an indication that popular demonological thought sometimes worked on the principle of 'no honour among thieves' (cp. FRIDRICHSEN: *op. cit.*, pp. 71 ff.).

3) iii 20f., 31-35. The D reading in v. 21, which makes vv. 20f. an independent story, was probably due to a copyist who could not wait for the continuation in vv. 31-35. Vv. 21, 35 seem to belong to the original basis of the story. Vv. 31-34 may be a secondary construction providing a concrete representation (in the form of an attentive audience) of those who do the will of God. Perhaps v. 20 is partly due to St. Mark himself. Cp. BULTMANN: *ibid.*, pp. 28 f.

physical relatives serve to bring out the real nature of the Messiah's family; those who are truly related to him belong to the spiritual community in which the will of God is performed [1]).

The next two chapters contain material of a different character: in iv 1-34, besides offering an explanation of the non-acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah, St. Mark sets forth three parables of growth which evince his unfailing confidence in the ultimate triumph of the kingdom of God over all the opposing forces of evil; and in iv 35-v 43, by presenting a series of three [2]) miracle-stories, he supplies further evidence of the supernatural power which Jesus uses for the benefit of men. But the theme of opposition recurs at the beginning of chapter six, directly after the account of the raising of the little girl [3]), in the story of the rejection of Jesus in his native place (vi 1-6), and this story is immediately followed by the account of the mission of the twelve (vi 7-xiii, 30) with its intercalated reports concerning Herod's mistaken opinion of Jesus (vv. 14-16) and the death of John the Baptist (vv. 17-29). Thus the arrangement of the traditions at the present juncture (the end of the narrative of a settled ministry in Galilee) suggests that the evangelist again wishes to indicate in advance the shape of things to come [4]). He seems to regard the story of Jesus' rejection in the patris [1] as a representation on a small scale of the final rejection of the Messiah by his own nation, an act which resulted in the crucifixion [2] and the subsequent world-wide mission of the apostolic church.

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[1]) Vv. 33-35. Whereas the mother and the brothers of Jesus stand outside (v. 31), the multitude is seated within the house (vv. 20a, 32) and represents the true family of the Messiah (v. 34); cp. the favourable appeal to the multitude in viii 34a.

[2]) In St. Mark's view, v 21-43 may be a single unit.

[3]) It is noteworthy that in the fourth gospel the decision to put Jesus to death (xi 53) follows on the seventh and greatest sign (the raising of Lazarus) in which the Messiah is revealed as the resurrection and the life (xi, 25).

[4]) Lightfoot (*History and Interpretation* (London, 1935), pp. 182 ff.) points out that all the synoptists attach special importance to the story of the rejection in the patris. In Mt. xiii 53-58, as in Mk. vi 1-6, the incident is seen in its tragic aspect. St. Matthew places the story at the end of his great scheme of rearrangement in Mt. v-xiii and thereby makes the incident the climax of the Galilean ministry. But he depicts Jesus as deliberately restricting his miracles among his own people in consequence of their unbelief (Mt. xiii 58), and this gives the story a sternness which it does not possess in St. Mark's gospel. On the other hand, St. Luke is more concerned with the glad reception of the gospel by the Gentile than with the tragedy of its rejection by the Jew. He places the story of the rejection in the patris at the outset of his account of the ministry (Lk. iv 16-30) and presents the incident as though it were foreseen and inevitable from the beginning. Thus St. Luke does not see the story in its tragic aspect. Whatever opposition may be offered at this point can only result in an extension of the field of the ministry.

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[1] Certain interesting problems are raised by vi 1-6. 1. In v. 3a the reading 'Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary . . . ?' is surprising in view of (a) the fact that it does not mention Joseph, (b) Origen's statement (*c. Celsum*, vi 36) that the gospels nowhere describe Jesus as a carpenter. Hence the original reading may be: ὁ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱὸς καὶ Μαρίας (Fam. 13 etc.) which was altered in the interests of the doctrine of the virgin birth. But the reference to Jesus as the son of Mary may have been meant as an insult (cp. LIGHTFOOT: *ibid.*, pp. 187 f.) and it should be noticed that the text in Mt. xiii 55; Lk. iv 22 has not been altered in the interests of the doctrine mentioned. 2. It is not till we come to v. 3a (or v. 3c, if the reading of Fam. 13 is correct) that there is any sign of hostility on the part of the congregation; v. 2 reads as though Jesus were meeting with great success (cp. i 21-28—Jesus' first appearance in a synagogue). 3. The story culminates in the general pronouncement of v. 4, which shows a striking resemblance to the first part of the saying preserved in the Oxyrhynchus papyri: 'A prophet is not acceptable in his patris, neither does a physician perform cures on those who know him' (*Ox. log.* 6, ed. GRENFELL and HUNT). V. 5a may be a translation into a dramatic form of the second part of this saying. Thus it has been conjectured that a story of success has been transformed into a story of failure under the influence of the disappointing experience of the church in its missionary work among the Jews, aided by a traditional saying of the Lord. Cp. BULTMANN: *op. cit.*, pp. 30 f.

[2] St. Mark probably takes the ἐσκανδαλίζοντο in v. 3c (cp. 1 Cor. i 23; Rom. ix 33) and the ἀπιστίαν in v. 6 (cp. Rom. iii 3; xi 20) to symbolise the Jewish attitude to the apostolic belief in the crucified Messiah, in which case he again contravenes the strict requirements of his doctrine of the messianic secret. But vv. 5f. involve a further difficulty, for v. 5a seems to be contradicted by v. 5b. It is possible, therefore, that the original conclusion was without v. 5b, and it would be meant not as an indication of the impotence of Jesus in face of the disrespect of his compatriots, but as an impressive illustration of the baneful consequences of unbelief: those who do not show the respect and honour which are due to the divine prophet, necessarily preclude themselves from receiving the marvellous blessings which he can bestow upon them. If this is so, v. 5b may have been added by St. Mark (Mt. xiii 58 seems to presuppose a Markan text which included v. 5b) who mistook vv. 5a, 6 to signify that Jesus was completely frustrated by the hostility of his own people; by interpolating v. 5b he transforms a complete failure into a partial one. But on the assumption that St. Mark misinterpreted vv. 5a, 6 in this way, the οὐκ ἐδύνατο in v. 5a would come into conflict with the belief in the sovereign might of the Messiah which is evident elsewhere in the gospel, and hence he ought to have adopted some such ending as Mt. xiii 58 where the words οὐκ ἐδύνατο do not appear. Accordingly, it seems more satisfactory to suppose that St. Mark did not misunderstand vv. 5a, 6 in the manner suggested, and that he introduced v. 5b in order to make room for the fact that a few Jews responded to the gospel proclaimed by the apostolic church.

After the brief account of the return of the apostles in vi 30 1) comes a further series of three pericopes dealing with the supernatural power of Jesus and showing his extraordinary adequacy in situations to which the disciples are quite unequal. In vi 31-44, being moved with compassion, he multiplies a few loaves and fishes and feeds a multitude of five thousand men; in vi 45-52 he compels his disciples to cross the sea alone, and when a contrary wind distresses them he comes to their aid by miraculously walking on the water; and in vi 53-56, having taken to the shore, his presence in Gennesaret is soon made widely known and he proceeds to achieve more fame as a worker of marvellous healings 2). But the evangelist again takes up the theme of opposition in vii 1-23, a composite passage in which Jesus enunciates the principle of inward purity over against the Pharisaic doctrine of ceremonial cleanness. This relatively prolonged section of controversy is characteristically followed by yet another series of three stories which afford further demonstration of the supernatural power of Jesus. In vii 24-30 3) he holds a conversation with a Syrophoenician woman

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1) vi 30 is the only passage in St. Mark's gospel where the word 'apostle' is used. In vi 31-vii 37 and viii 1-26 the evangelist seems to be reproducting two parallel cycles of the same tradition. Thus: 1. vi 31-44 (feeding five thousand)/viii 1-9 (feeding four thousand). 2. vi 45-52 (walking on the sea)—no parallel in ch. viii. 3. vi 53-56 (crossing to Gennesaret)/viii 10 (crossing to Dalmanutha). 4. vii 1-23 (conflict with Pharisees)/viii 11 f. (conflict with Pharisees). 5. vii 24-30 (Syrophoenician woman—conversation about the bread of the children)/viii 13-21 (conversation about bread). 6. vii 31-37 (healing of a deaf-mute)/viii 22-26 (healing of a blind man).

2) In vi 54-56 we have a generalising summary probably composed by St. Mark; cp. such passages as i 45; iii 7-12; iii 20; vi 31-33; vii 36 f.

3) St. Mark himself may have brought this story into its present context, for its similarity to viii 13-21 (the alleged parallel in the second cycle of tradition) is very slight. The story is appropriately placed seeing that the doctrine of ceremonial cleanness has just been repudiated; cp. Acts x 28. The 'yes' (v. 28) which is omitted in D, Fam. 13 etc., may have crept into the Markan text from the parallel in Mt. xv 27; it does not occur elsewhere in St. Mark's gospel. The 'lord' (v. 28) probably should be translated 'sir' (cp. Jn. iv 49, R.V.). The three later evangelists often put the word (no doubt with the meaning 'Lord') into the mouth of the disciples addressing Jesus. St. Luke and St. John also often use 'the Lord' in narrative. But St. Mark never uses 'the Lord' in narrative and never uses the vocative except here (cp. Turner in *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture* (ed. by C. Gore and others, London, 1929), Pt. 3, p. 76). He may take the word to refer to Jesus in i 3, (a scriptural quotation); cp. xii 35-37. Streeter (*The Four Gospels* (London 1926), p. 260) sees an earlier form of the story in Mt. xv 21-28, and Bussmann (*Synopt. Studien* (Halle, 1925/31), vol. 1, pp. 49 ff.) argues that the story did not appear in the first edition of St. Mark's gospel.

and expels a demon from her daughter by miraculous action from a distance; in vii 31-37, having passed through the region of Decapolis, he cures a man who is suffering from deafness and a speech impediment; and in viii 1-9, again being moved with compassion, he multiplies a few loaves and small fishes and feeds a multitude of about four thousand people. Nevertheless, despite such impressive manifestations of the supernatural power of Jesus, neither his Jewish opponents nor even his disciples are able to discern the real nature of his person and office. Thus in viii 11f. the Pharisees reveal their ignorance by demanding of him a sign from heaven [1]) and in viii 13-21 the disciples betray their complete failure to grasp the mysterious significance of the miracles of the loaves. But the healing of the blind man in viii 22-26 seems to foreshadow the 'enlightenment' of the disciples, related in the following pericope, which marks the opening of the second main section of the gospel wherein the evangelist's anti-Jewish feeling becomes still more obvious [2]).

On the other hand, the saying in Mt. xv 24 (which certainly has a primitive ring about it) may be based on Mt. x 6, and Mt. xv 28 seems to be secondary to Mk. vii 29 f. Admittedly, Mk. vii 27a weakens the argument for the position taken in Mk. vii 27b; but St. Matthew perhaps omitted it precisely for this reason. There is hardly sufficient evidence for the view that, in the light of Mk. vii 27a, the first miracle of the loaves should be understood as a feeding of Jews, and the second as a feeding of Gentiles. The Q story in Mt. viii 5-13/Lk. vii 1-10 closely resembles Mk. vii 24-30; these are the only two stories in the synoptic gospels which concern miraculous action from a distance, and in each Jesus is surprised by the utterance of a Gentile who pleads on behalf of his/her child/slave.

[1]) Cp. 1 Cor. i 22. In LOHMEYER's view (*op. cit.*, p. 156), the point is that the Pharisees are unaware of the secret that only God can give signs. St. Mark refers to the miracles of Jesus not as 'signs' but as 'powers'. On the other hand, it should be noted that, according to xiii 22, the false messiahs and the false prophets will work signs and wonders. St. Mark evidently holds that the cosmic disturbances or signs, which current Jewish expectation commonly associated with the advent of the days of the Messiah, are to take place in connection with the parousia of the Son of Man; cp. xiii 4; xiii 24 ff.; viii 12 is not really inconsistent with xiii 30 if we may assume that 'this generation' in xiii 30 signifies the second generation of Christians (Jesus is speaking privately to four disciples; cp. xiii 3 ff.) rather than the first, the reference being to a time when only a minority of Jesus' contemporaries would still be alive; cp. ix 1.

[2]) For some pertinent observations in this connection, with particular reference to the last three chapters of the gospel, cp. my paper on St. Mark's philosophy of the passion in *Novum Testamentum*, vol. 2 (1958), pp. 245 ff., and Dr. Paul Winter's marginal notes on the trial of Jesus in Z.N.T.W., vol. 50 (1959), pp. 14 ff., 221 ff.

UT QUID PERDITIO ISTA?

ZU MK 14,4F UND PARR.

VON

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Die Pointe der Salbungsgeschichte hat J. JEREMIAS [1]) in einem sehr beachtenswerten Aufsatz etwa folgendermassen zu erkennen versucht: Die Murrenden (τινές) halten die Tat der Frau für Verschwendung ohne Sinn, man hätte den vergeudeten Wert — um diese Vergeudung zu unterstreichen, wird der Wert als sehr hoch angegeben — als Almosen verwenden können. Nach Jesu Meinung aber hat die Frau ein Liebeswerk getan, indem sie proleptisch an ihm die Salbung vollzogen hat — ihm stand nach der Hinrichtung das Schicksal bevor, ohne Salbung in das Verbrechergrab geworfen zu werden. Das καλὸν ἔργον (V. 6) ist präzis gemeint als das ,,Liebeswerk" im Gegensatz zum ,,Almosen". Von daher erschliesst sich nach Jeremias der Gedankengang in seiner Geschlossenheit: die Gegenüberstellung der τινές, Luxus und Almosen, ersetzt Jesus durch die Gegenüberstellung Almosen und Liebeswerk. Jeremias paraphrasiert also Jesu Antwort: ,,Ihr fordert, dass die Frau Almosen geben solle, statt Verschwendung zu treiben. In Wahrheit hat sie viel mehr getan, nämlich ein Liebeswerk". Jeremias hat mit reichen Belegen die Hochschätzung des Almosens, sowie die Höherbewertung des Liebeswerkes gegenüber dem Almosen aufgezeigt. Schon das Spätjudentum unterschied beides: Das Almosen wird durch drei Merkmale vom Liebeswerk unterschieden: es wird den Armen gegeben, erstreckt sich nur auf Lebende und besteht in der Geldgabe. Das Liebeswerk dagegen umfasst neben den Armen auch die Reichen, neben den Lebenden auch die Toten, und es erfordert neben der Geldaufwendung zugleich den persönlichen Einsatz. Darum steht das Liebeswerk über dem Almosen.

Die modernen Kommentare referieren die Auffassung Jeremias', ohne sie ausdrücklich anzunehmen oder abzulehnen [1]); uns scheint sie an dem ganzen Text erst die straffe, einheitliche Linie abzulesen und damit zu zeigen, wie Jesus mit der an sich schon vorgegebenen Höherschätzung des Liebeswerkes vor dem Almosen ernst macht; wie denn auch sonst in manchen Belangen Lehre und Praxis im Judentum der Zeit himmelweit auseinanderklafften (vgl. nur Mt xxiii 3 usw.). Auch die spärlichen Parallelen, die Strack-Billerbeck[2]) vorlegen, betreffen die Alternative Luxus oder Almosen. Wenn sich Rabbinen beim Anblick prunkvoller Synagogen daran erinnern, dass man für die immensen Baugelder hätte Almosen geben können und damit vielleicht Armen das Thorastudium hätte ermöglichen können, dann sind das Gedanken, die jedem anständigen Heiden kommen konnten (abgesehen natürlich von der Bemerkung des zu ermöglichenden Thorastudiums). Im Grund stehen sich hier philanthrope und christliche Gesinnung gegenüber, mit allen Uberschneidungen, die sich hier anbieten. Jesu Auffassung kommt gerade in der Parabel vom Samariter zur Geltung: es kommt ihm auf den persönlichen Einsatz an, auf das Wahrnehmen der Gelegenheit, auf das ,,Beistehen'' (wie wir im deutschen noch an der Etymologie lernen können: ,,Dabei stehen'' = ,,helfen''!), auf das Absehen davon, ob einer reich oder arm, Volksangehöriger oder nicht, würdig oder unwürdig ist. Jesus kommt es auch darauf an, dass einem die Liebestat etwas kostet, man denke an die Geschichte vom Scherflein der Witwe. Einem Verschwender aber bedeutet es innerlich ja wenig oder nichts, wenn er seine Habe und seine Gelder verschleudert; würde er das alles zu einem guten Zweck zur Verfügung stellen, so wäre das immerhin besser. Das also ist die Einstellung der τινές anlässlich der Salbung bei Mk xiv 4f. Und dazu möchte ich nur ein ganz ähnliches heidnisches Beispiel vergleichen, weil es fast die gleichen Worte benützt: Im Pseudolus des Plautus (V. 438-441) hält ein missratener Sohn seinem nicht besseren Vater vor: ,,Rechtschaffen muss der Vater sein, der seinen Sohn will besser haben, als er selbst gewesen ist. Was du an tollen, lust'gen Streichen hast getan, das hätt' für jeden aus dem Volk gereicht" [1]). Der lateinische Text ist mit dieser Übersetzung [2]) nicht ganz treu getroffen:

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[1]) ZNW 35 (1936) 75-82. Wir folgen Jeremias teilweise wörtlich.

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[1]) E. KLOSTERMANN, *Das Markusevangelium*, Tübingen ⁴1950, Anhang zu S. 141; E. LOHMEYER, *Das Evangelium des Markus*, Göttingen ¹³1954, ¹⁴1957, Ergänzungsheft zu S. 296; R. BULTMANN, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, Göttingen ¹⁴1956, 317, Anm. 6.

[2]) Kommentar zum NT, I (München 1922) 986.

> ,,nam tu quod damni et quod fecisti flagiti
> populo viritim potuit dispertirier".

Damnum oder damni facere bedeutet im Gegensatz zu damnum dare nicht Schaden bei anderen stiften, sondern selber an seiner eigenen Habe Schaden anrichten, eben, wie man an unsrer Stelle sieht, im Sinne von "durchbringen", ,,verschwenden". Flagitium wird häufig mit stuprum, facinus, scelus und iniuria zusammengestellt, bezeichnet im übertragenen Sinn an unsrer Stelle wie bei Horaz, Carm. 3, 5, 26 (Flagitio additis damnum) u.a. ,,Schande", dedecus, infamia (so ThLL VI/1, 839, 77 ff). Also: ,,Was du in Schimpf und Schande hast verprasst, das hätt' gereicht, um jedem einzelnen aus dem Volk davon zukommen zu lassen". Was hier von der Verteilung ans Volk gesagt wird, will man als Anspielung auf die sogenannte decuma Herculis auffassen, die darin bestand, dass man in Rom an der Ara Maxima dem Hercules als eine Art Gewinnbeteiligung zum Dank für gute Geschäfte oder gute Beute etwas davon darbrachte, woraus dann anschliessend eine Volksbewirtung bestritten wurde [3]). Plautus kennt Aulularia 107 f und 179f auch ein ,,dividere argenti nummos in viros" durch den Magister curiae, was aber dem griechischen Original entlehnt ist. Ob unsere Stelle mit dem ,,viritim" nicht auch da anzuschliessen ist, wäre vielleicht zu fragen. Soweit eine heidnische Parallele zu Mk xiv, 4 f. Jesu Antwort kann auf diesem Hintergrund gewiss schärfer gesehen werden.

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[1]) Die Übersetzung stammt von A. KLOTZ, T. M. PLAUTUS, Komödien, München 1948 (aus der Tuskulum-Reihe des Verlages Heimeran) S. 221.

[2]) Text nach W. M. LINDSAY. — Vgl. ebenso die deutsche Übersetzung von L. GURLITT, *Die Komödien des Plautus,* I (Berlin 1920) 183: ,,Du aber, was für Streiche, welchen Übermut hast du verübt! Man könnt' die ganze Stadt damit versorgen, Mann für Mann." (KLOTZ ist in seiner Übertragung wohl von Gurlitt beeinflusst!)

[3]) Vgl. A. O. F. LORENZ, *Ausgewählte Komödien des Plautus* IV, Pseudolus, Berlin 1876, 135f und ders. II, Mostellaria, ebenda 1866, 203. Desgleichen A. OTTO, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer,* Leipzig 1890, 162, Nr 803; weiters zur decuma Herculis: Liebenam, RE IV/2, 2306 und ausführlicher G. WISSOWA, *Religion und Kultus der Römer,* München ²1912, 277-279.

ST. JOHN AND "THE FIRST SYNOPTIC PERICOPE"

BY

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Until quite recently it was taken for granted in critical circles that in the third chapters of Matthew and Luke we find combined with the Marcan narrative an account of John the Baptist which came from another source, usually held to be the document Q. The discussion of the last few years, in which the "generally accepted Synoptic solution" has come very much under fire, has opened up the question once again. Few of us can avoid being impressed by the important excursus which Professor Vaganay has devoted to this section in his "Probleme Synoptique" [1], whatever may be our judgment on his thesis as a whole. He argues that in these narratives sometimes Mark is the most original, sometimes Matthew, sometimes Matthew and Mark, sometimes Matthew and Luke, and he asserts that this proves that the material involved goes back not to a Sayings Source but to a common source which underlies all three Synoptics. By ridding "Q" of this and other narrative elements he removes the difficulty of envisaging the Second Synoptic Source, which, on the usual view, is a curious mixture of narrative and teaching, and enables us to see it as simply a Sayings Collection. Another Roman Catholic scholar, Jean Levie [2], has replied that all that Vaganay has proved is that the accounts in Matthew and Luke cannot have developed out of Mark alone, and that an equally good, indeed better, interpretation of the same facts is that the two writers used Q in addition to Mark. Thus two alternative explanations of the same series of facts have been offered us, with no really decisive argument in favour of one or the other.

A comparison of the first chapter of John with the Synoptic material is most instructive. It is a commonplace that the Fourth

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[1] 344 ff.

[2] L'évangile araméen de S. Matthieu est-il la source de l'évangile de S. Marc? 819-820.

Gospel shows striking resemblances to the Synoptic material at this point. A close examination, however, reveals that the agreements with Mark alone are much less than might be expected. The sole instance worth mention is the absence of καὶ πυρί, and this is of little significance: for the "fire" symbol is one that might not appeal to the writer of the Fourth Gospel and might well have been omitted by him.

Over against this slight agreement with Mark we find similarities on a large scale with Matthew or Luke or both.

a. The Isaiah quotation follows the mention of John the Baptist as in Matthew and Luke, whereas in Mark it rather awkwardly precedes. Mark's erroneously ascribed Malachi quotation does not occur—it is absent also from Matthew and Luke. While Mark cites Isaiah in a comment of his own, "Even as it is written in Isaiah the prophet . . . John came", the Fourth Gospel includes it in the utterance of John the Baptist himself, "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness." This is a possible way of understanding the wording in Matthew also, as those acquainted with the translation of E. V. Rieu will recall: "He preached in the waste lands of Judaea, and called on people for a change of heart, saying, 'The kingdom of heaven is near, for here is he who was spoken of through the prophet Isaiah when he said, The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare the way of the Lord: make his paths straight."

b. The account of the dress and appearance of John, camel's hair and leather girdle, are found only in Matthew and Mark. The silence of St. Luke on this point has often been explained in terms of his constant avoidance of anything that might suggest the identification of John the Baptist with Elijah [1]). Luke is thus found in agreement with the Fourth Gospel in one of its most notorious divergences from the Marcan story, the denial by John the Baptist that he was Elijah. It is highly significant that we find in Luke the incident which provides the background for this denial in John. Luke iii, 15 f, "And as the people were in expectation, and all men reasoned in their hearts concerning John, whether haply he were the Christ; John answered saying unto them all, I indeed baptize you with water" seems to present in summary form what we find in John i, 19ff.

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[1]) E.g. Vaganay, *op. cit.* 356, E. W. Bundy, "*Jesus and the First Three Gospels*" 47.

c. When we read in Matthew and Luke of the rather fierce way in which the prophet of the desert greeted the people who came to him for baptism we are reminded forcibly of material in other parts of the Fourth Gospel. "Generation of vipers" [1]) is partly a harsh statement that these Jews are really the devil's brood and thus links up in our minds with the words of Jesus to the Jews in John viii, 44, "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father it is your will to do". Another connection between the same Synoptic passages and that chapter of the Fourth Gospel is to be found in Matthew iii, 9 (= Luke iii, 9) "Think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham" and John viii, 39f, "They answered and said unto him, our father is Abraham. Jesus saith unto them, If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham. But now ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth, which I heard from God: this did not Abraham."

d. When we come to the Baptist's proclamation of the Coming One, we again find striking agreements of John with Matthew and Luke. Like them he uses the present βαπτίζω rather than Mark's aorist. He has the same words in the same order as Matthew in ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος. He agrees with the sequence of Matthew and Luke: the mention of the rite of water-baptism, followed by the announcement of the greater One coming, leading up to the statement that the Successor will baptize with the Holy Spirit. Mark, it will be remembered, has the sequence: the greater One coming, water-baptism, promise of baptism with the Holy Spirit. κύψας does not occur in the statement of the Baptist in the Fourth Gospel, and, while C. K. BARRETT [2]) has tried to explain this as a deliberate omission of what John would have read in his copy of Mark by saying that he "drops the vivid but unnecessary κύψας", it is hardly sheer coincidence that the word is lacking in Matthew and Luke also. On the usual textual readings, Matthew and John have ἐν ὕδατι as over against Mark's ὕδατι, and Luke joins them in ἐν πνεύματι as against the πνεύματι of Mark. In the account of the descent of the Spirit on Jesus at His baptism John's ἐπ' αὐτόν once again agrees with Matthew and Luke: Mark has εἰς αὐτόν.

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[1]) LOHMEYER, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus* (ed. SCHMAUCH) 38-39; T. W. MANSON, *The Sayings of Jesus* 40.

[2]) The Gospel according to St. John 145.

The extent of the agreements of the Fourth Gospel with Matthew and Luke and the virtual absence of any exclusively with Mark lead to two main conclusions.

a. As far as these passages are concerned, John cannot be dependent on Mark. Nor is it likely that he was dependent on one of the other canonical gospels: for he agrees sometimes with Matthew, and on other occasions with Luke, and he would hardly have eliminated to such an extent the Marcan elements in them. The view that material has been later inserted in order to bring the gospel more into line with the Synoptics fails to command agreement. The supposed interpolated material would be far too extensive and the very parts that show agreement with the Synoptics are woven so closely into the fabric of the Johannine account that they cannot be detached from it without damaging the whole.

b. The Fourth Evangelist shows acquaintance with an account of the ministry of John the Baptist other than that of Mark and known also to Matthew and Luke. While it would be too much to claim that this is a vindication of the Q Hypothesis in anything like its classic form, it establishes the existence of a second source for this part of the gospels of Matthew and Luke.

We wonder, however, whether the two basic accounts, that of Mark and that underlying Matthew, Luke and John, are to be regarded as completely independent. B. C. Butler [1] has reminded us that this section was one of the passages that led Streeter, during the period represented by his contribution to the Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem [2], to hold that Mark must have known Q. The relative pronoun of Matthew iii, 12 (= Luke οὗ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ) is meaningless apart from iii, 11 (= Luke iii, 16), which is in Mark too. Another indication of common origin is to be found in the fact that the quotation from Malachi which Mark ascribes to Isaiah occurs with reference to John the Baptist also in Matthew xi, 7 ff (= Luke vii, 24 ff) in the same translation and with the same conflation with Exodus as we find in Mark. Yet another pointer in the same direction is the redundant pronoun which occurs in Mark and also in John and in Luke. It seems certain, therefore, that there is some connection between the two basic narratives.

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1) The Originality of St. Matthew 110 f.

2) 167 ff.

When we attempt to investigate the nature of this connection, we have to keep clearly in mind a number of other considerations.

a. Mark i, 7-8 is only loosely connected with what precedes: "it is joined to 4-6 by the most artificial of literary links, 'And he preached, saying'—a stereotyped formula which usually introduces stray discourse units" [1]).

b. The whole Marcan account gives an impression of abbreviation. Butler is justified in the conviction that Mark i, 7-8 reads like a "mutilated fragment" of the "connected whole" which we find in Matthew iii, 7-12 (= Luke iii, 7-17) [2]). Like his narrative of the temptations of Jesus [3]), Mark's story of the baptism of Jesus reads like a summary.

c. In a number of ways, the Marcan version seems the less primitive. Mark appears to have placed the Isaiah quotation at the beginning to arrest the attention of the reader and to set the subsequent narrative against the background of the divine purpose as revealed in the prophets, and the addition of the Malachi quotation serves to intensify this effect [4]). The form of the announcement by John the Baptist of the greater One coming in Matthew and Luke is "more Jewish, more prophetic, more eschatological, . . . relatively free from later Christian colouring" [5]). The Marcan narrative of the baptism of Jesus also seems to show signs of development as over against the source common to Matthew and Luke. We have pointed out elsewhere [6]) that the peculiar elements in Mark's story, the εἰς αὐτόν and σχιζομένους were due to the influence of Isaiah LXIII and were an indication that for Mark and for the Christian community to which he belonged the baptism of Jesus was a prefiguration of the Lord's death. If this is true, the Marcan conception is much more theologically developed than the point of view of the account underlying Matthew and Luke.

All these considerations seem to point to one conclusion: that Mark, in producing a very powerful and moving theological introduction to his gospel, utilised precisely the account of John the Baptist and the baptism of Jesus which was known to Matthew and Luke, and also to the author of the Fourth Gospel.

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[1]) E. W. BUNDY, Jesus and the First Three Gospels, 49.

[2]) op. cit. 111.

[3]) F. C. GRANT, The Gospel according to St. Mark, 20.

[4]) VAGANAY, op. cit. 347.

[5]) BUNDY, op. cit. 51.

[6]) "The Markan Account of the Baptist of Jesus and Isaiah lxiii", J.T.S. vii (1956) 74 f.

DAS WORT VON JESU FREUNDEN (JOH. XV, 13-16) UND DAS HERRENMAHL

VON

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In den Abschiedsreden des Joh. steht, in seiner Umgebung isoliert, in alttestamentlich-jüdischer und griechischer Überlieferung vorbereitet und in der Umwelt des Joh. bekannt, ohne sich im Christentum durchsetzen zu können, das Wort von den Jüngern als den Freunden Jesu [1]). Entfaltet xv 12, was das Gebot Jesu ist, so lenkt xv 17 wiederum zu V. 12 zurück. Das dazwischen liegende Stück ist durch das Thema ,,Freunde Jesu" zusammengehalten. MARTIN DIBELIUS hat in einer Studie zu Joh. xv 13 wahrscheinlich gemacht, dass dieses Wort eine selbständige Überlieferungseinheit ist, und er versteht den Zusammenhang V. 13-16 als ,,eine midraschartige Abschweifung", ,,deren Zentrum V. 13 ist". [2]) BULTMANN gibt die Möglichkeit einer selbständigen Gnome zu, betont aber mit Recht, dass V. 13 von V. 12 aus gesehen ,,ganz allgemein und grundsätzlich die höchste Möglichkeit der geforderten Liebe" darstellt und ,,nachträglich in das Licht der Worte V. 14f." gerät. [3]) Der singuläre Charakter der Anrede, die einen neuen Stand, in den die Jünger durch Jesus gehoben werden, der sich von einem früheren Stand unterscheidet, fixiert, ist das Problem dieses in sich geschlossenen Zusammenhanges, der in den Gesamtzusammenhang xv 1-17 eingegliedert ist und, wie sich noch zeigen wird, auch zum folgenden Stück seine Beziehung hat.

Die Abschiedsreden des Joh., das johanneische Symposion, haben ihre Stelle am Ende der Mahlzeit; sie stehen da, wo in den festlichen Mahlzeiten in Israel und in der hellenistischen Welt das Trinkgelage stand; in der Urchristenheit ist an seine Stelle gottesdienstlich-kultisches Geschehen getreten, wenn auch unter mancherlei Widerständen, die auf die weitere Formung des Herrenmahles eingewirkt haben und z.B. aus 1. Kor. xi 17-34 deutlich werden [1]. Diese Bedeutung der Abschiedsreden wird bereits in Luk. xxii 14-38 sichtbar; was dort begonnen ist, wird – in selbständiger Weise — bei Joh. ausgeführt. In seiner Untersuchung zur Komposition der Abschiedsreden [2] kommt JOHANNES SCHNEIDER, eine Erwägung HOSKYNS' aufnehmend, zu der Einsicht: "die Kapitel 13-17 stellen im letzten Grunde ein kultisches Handeln dar, in dessen Mittelpunkt ein heiliges Mahl, eine esoterische Belehrung und ein feierliches Weihe- und Fürbittengebet stehen. Hier ist ein wesentliches Stück des Kultus der Gemeinde vorgebildet: die Grundstruktur einer urchristlichen Abendmahlsliturgie". Die Beziehung zum Herrenmahl ist, wie durch SPITTA [3], LOISY [4] und HOSKYNS [5] erkannt ist, besonders im Abschnitt xv, 1-17 vorhanden. Es entsteht also die Frage: Bekommt das Wort von Jesu Freunden vom Herrenmahl Inhalt und Sinn?

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[1]) Zur Frage der Gottesfreundschaft vgl. E. PETERSON, *Der Gottesfreund* Beiträge zur Geschichte eines religiösen Terminus ZKG 42 (1923) S. 161-202; M. DIBELIUS, *Der Brief des Jakobus* 9. Aufl. (1957) S. 161 f. R. BULTMANN, *Das Evangelium des Johannes* (1941) S. 419 Anm. 3. STRACK-BILLERBECK III S. 755. II S. 564 f.

[2]) M. DIBELIUS, *Botschaft und Geschichte* I, S. 204-220. Zitat S. 206.

[3]) BULTMANN *a.a.O.* S. 417.

Die Erörterung des urchristlichen Herrenmahles hat u.a. zu der

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[1] Vgl. dazu die Arbeiten von HEINRICH SCHÜRMANN, *Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung des lukanischen Abendmahlsberichtes* I (1953), II (1955), III (1958); ferner Lk. xxii 19b, 20 als ursprüngliche Textüberlieferung, Biblica 32 S. 364-392. 522-541.

[2] JOH. SCHNEIDER, *Die Abschiedsreden Jesu*, Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Komposition von Joh. xiii 31-17, 26. in Gott und die Götter, Festgabe für ERICH FASCHER zum 60.Geburtstag (1958) S. 103-112. SCHNEIDER sieht wie z.B. auch STRATHMANN in 14 einerseits, 15 + 16 andererseits zwei nebeneinanderstehende Fassungen der Abschiedsreden, die die Redaktion nebeneinander gestellt hat. Dieses Prinzip waltet z.B. auch bei der Ostergeschichte (Kap. 20 + 21). Man muss u.E. von der Erkenntnis ausgehen, dass der Verfasser des Evangeliums seine Schrift nicht vollendet hat, weil er durch den Tod daran gehindert worden ist — vgl. den Schluss von Kap. xxi — und das Evangelium von seinen Schülern herausgegeben worden ist. Von daher erklären sich die „Aporien des vierten Evangeliums" (Ed. SCHWARTZ), von daher, dass eigenartige durchgebildete Stücke neben Zusammenhängen stehen, die wie unbearbeitetes Rohmaterial wirken. Diese Aporien sind durch literarkritische Umstellungen nicht lösbar; welcher Redaktor sollte die Gestalt des Joh., wie sie z.B. von HIRSCH oder BULTMANN postuliert wird, in derartige Unordnung gebracht haben, dass diese Umstellungen notwendig werden? Das Johannesevangelium ist „die Unvollendete" des NT und trägt beides an sich: Züge höchster Vollendung, Züge des Unfertigen. Zitat S. 111.

[3] FR. SPITTA, *Das Johannes-Evangelium als Quelle der Geschichte Jesu* (1910) S. 301 ff.

[4] A. LOISY, *Le Quatrième Évangile* 2. Aufl. (1921) S. 417.

[5] C. HOSKYNS, *The Fourth Gospel* (1947) S. 471. 495.

Einsicht geführt, dass die Deuteworte Jesu ein doppeltes Gleichniswort darstellen und der entscheidende Vorgang des Mahles selbst in der Austeilung liegt; ,,ebenso wie alle Mahlgenossen Anteil bekommen an dem Brot und dem Wein (ausgeteilt bei der Vor- und Nachtischbenediktion), so bekommen alle Anteil an der Sühnebedeutung seines Todes, seines dahingegebenen Leibes und seines vergossenen Blutes'' [1]). Die Austeilung begründet die Teilhabe, die Gemeinschaft schafft. Dieser Sachverhalt wird in dem bei Joh. dem grossen Zusammenhang 13-17 vorangestellten Zeichen der Fusswachsung sichtbar gemacht und gedeutet und im Bildwort des Weinstocks entfaltet. Nun enthält aber die Verteilung einen auffälligen Vorgang. Bei einem Gastmahl hat jeder Teilnehmer seinen eigenen Becher. Jesus aber gibt seinen Becher an seine Jünger weiter und alle trinken daraus. Schürmann hat in seinen grundlegenden Untersuchungen darauf hingewiesen, dass es eine gelegentlich festzustellende Sitte gegeben hat, ,,den Segensbecher einem besonders zu ehrenden Mahlteilnehmer oder einem auch nicht am Mahl teilnehmenden Familienmitglied, wohl nach hellenistischer Sitte, zum Trank zu übersenden'' [2]). Die Übergabe des Bechers, über dem der Tischsegen gesprochen worden ist, bedeutet Übermittlung des Segens und Ehrung des damit Ausgezeichneten. Durch diesen Vorgang scheint uns das Freundeswort (V. 13-16) seine inhaltliche Bestimmung und Bedeutung zu erfahren.

Die einleitende Fusswachung zeigt die Gemeinschaft auf, die Jesus mit den Seinen hat. In der Einleitung wird davon gesprochen, dass er die Seinen bis zur Vollendung liebt, wie er sie geliebt hat in der Welt. Von seiner Liebe als Selbstmitteilung an die Seinen hatte der erste Teil des Evangeliums gesprochen (Kap. 1-12), überschattet von der Tatsache: ,,Er kam in sein Eigentum, und die Seinen nahmen ihn nicht auf''; von seiner Liebe und Selbstmitteilung bis zur Vollendung spricht der zweite Teil, und mit ihm verbindet sich die Aussage: ,,Wieviele ihn aber aufnahmen, denen gab er Vollmacht, Gottes Kinder zu werden'' (i 11f.) [3]). Die Fusswaschung zeigt, wer es ist, der sich den Seinen selbst mitteilt: Es ist der, der um seine Herkunft von Gott und seine Zukunft bei ihm weiss, der Sohn des Vaters, dem alles an göttlichem Geheimnis und göttlichem Leben in seine Hand gegeben ist; der macht sich in seiner Selbstmitteilung zum Sklaven der Seinen, indem er ihnen den Dienst tut, der in Israel vom israelitischen Manne nicht gefordert werden soll, den Dienst der Fusswaschung. Er bildet die Selbsthingabe ab, die sich im Sklaventod am Kreuze vollendet. Der Zusammenhang zwischen V. 3 und 4, 5 zeigt dies: der Herr als Sklave der Seinen. Am Widerstand des Petrus aber wird offenbar: mag diese Selbstmitteilung zunächst unverständlich bleiben [1]), allein von ihr lebt der Mensch vor Gott: „Wenn ich dich nicht wasche, hast du keinen Teil mit mir" (xiii 8). Nur durch den Dienst des Herrn gibt es participatio am Heil, für die die Reinigung vorausgesetzt ist [2]).

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[1]) K. G. Kuhn, *Über den ursprünglichen Sinn des Abendmahls und sein Verhältnis zu den Gemeinschaftsmahlen der Sektenschrift*. Ev. Theol. Jahrg 1950/51 S. 508-527. Zitat S. 526.

[2]) Schürmann *a.a.O.* I S. 61; vgl. dazu Strack-Billerbeck IV S. 60

[3]) Es muss beachtet werden, dass der Ausdruck οἱ ἴδιοι aus i 11 in xiii wiederkehrt, nachdem x 3f. 12 an ihn erinnert hatte.

Auf diese Zusammenhänge ist die Bildrede vom Weinstock unmittelbar bezogen. Die Verbundenheit zwischen dem Weinstock und den Reben malt die Liebe der Selbstmitteilung, die Jesus und die Seinen verbindet, weshalb zum Bleiben in ihm aufgefordert und sein Bleiben in ihnen verheissen wird. Als Weinstock ist er der tragende Herr, denn nur im Bleiben an ihm wird der Jünger Frucht bringen können, und ohne ihn vermag er nichts zu tun. Die Gemeinschaft mit ihm, hergestellt durch sein Wort, ist ihre Reinigung; zwischen xiii 10 und xv 3 besteht eine teilweise wörtliche Übereinstimmung; in beiden Fällen ist von der Reinheit der Jünger gesprochen, xv 3 fügt hinzu: sie kommt aus dem Wort, das er zu ihnen spricht, sie hat also in seiner Anrede an sie ihren Grund. In beiden Fällen wird aber zugleich von dauernd notwendiger Reinigung gesprochen; die Reinen bedürfen der Waschung der Füsse; von ihnen als den Reben, die um des Wortes willen rein sind, wird gesagt: „Jede tragende Rebe reinigt er, dass sie mehr Frucht bringe". Und in beiden Fällen wird eine Ausnahme gemacht: einer lässt sich nicht reinigen, Judas (xiii 10 f.), es gibt die unfruchtbare Rebe, die ausgeschnitten wird (xv 6). Die Gemeinschaft, die in der Selbstmitteilung Jesu begründet ist, wirkt nicht magisch-unwiderstehlich, sondern ruft den Menschen in die Entscheidung des Glaubens. Die Vollmacht der Gotteskindschaft wird denen gegeben, die an seinen Namen glauben, d.h. die sich glaubend an ihn anschliessen [1]).

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[1]) Der Zusammenhang xiii 6-10, 36-38; xviii 10, 11, 15-18, 25-27; xx 2-10; xxi 3-19 zwingt dazu, die Aussage Jesu Joh. xiii 7 auf die Verleugnung des Petrus, bei Johannes als Selbstverleugnung gestaltet, indem dem zweimaligen ἐγώ εἰμι Jesu (xviii 5, 8) das zweimalige οὔκ εἰμι des Petrus (xviii 17, 25) gegenübertritt, zu beziehen. Sie bringt dem seiner selbst sicheren Petrus zum Bewusstsein, dass er durch Jesus getragen werden muss. Ostern ist die Stunde, da er einsieht, was er bei der Fusswaschung nicht begreift.

[2]) Die Fusswaschung steht u.E. im Zusammenhang mit dem Taufverständnis der römischen Gemeinde, nach dem die Taufe die vor ihr begangenen Sünden tilgt, während Sünden nach der Taufe unvergebbar bleiben. Der Gewaschene bedarf der dauernden Reinigung der Füsse; das Herrenmahl, in dessen Rahmen die Fusswaschung geschieht, erhält in der Gemeinschaft Jesu.

Die Tat der Fusswaschung ist für die Jünger Vorbild, dass sie einander tun, was er ihnen getan hat; sie weitet sich aus zu dem neuen Gebot der Liebe untereinander auf Grund der Liebe, die er ihnen bis zur Vollendung erweist; sie ist das Kennzeichen, an dem jedermann die Jüngerschaft erkennen kann (xiii 13-15, 34, 35) [2]). Die Frucht, die die Rebe bringt, ist die Erfüllung des Liebesgebotes (vgl. xv 5, 8, 9, 10, 12). Damit sind wir unmittelbar an das grosse Freundeswort herangeführt. Es steht auf der Grundlage der grossen Gemeinschaft, die er in seiner Selbstmitteilung den Seinen schenkt. Es knüpft an diese Selbstmitteilung an mit einer allgemeinen Gnome: die Selbsthingabe, — Einsatz und Preisgabe des Lebens ist der grösste Erweis der Liebe. Das Erwähnung der Freunde ist zunächst unbetont; man darf das Wort nicht in Gegensatz zur Feindesliebe setzen und sie noch grösser heissen. Es ist in der Tat „eine menschliche Analogie zu Jesu Tat" [3]) und soll die Grösse seiner Hingabe herausstellen. Es steht in unmittelbarer Nähe zu den Abendmahlsworten, die von der Selbsthingabe Jesu sprechen: hingegeben und vergossen für viele (vgl. Mark. xiv 24; Luk. xxii 19; 1. Kor. xi 24); wie sie spricht es von seiner Selbsthingabe, aber nicht anknüpfend an alttestamentliche Worte vom Gottesknecht, sondern an den Hochbeweis der menschlichen Liebe untereinander.

Dieses Wort wird nun die Grundlage für die Aussage, durch die

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[1]) Zu dem für das Johannes-Evangelium entscheidenden und eigenen Begriff des Glaubens, der themageschichtlich — vgl. dazu S. SCHULTZ, *Untersuchungen zur Menschensohn-Christologie im Johannes-Evangelium* (1957) S. 85-95 — entscheidend ist, bereitet der Verfasser dieses Aufsatzes eine eigene Studie vor.

[2]) Das neue Gebot steht in Auseinandersetzung mit dem Verständnis des Evangeliums als nova lex, vgl. S. 65 Anm. 2. Die Problematik des jungen Christentums am Ausgang des Urchristentums spiegelt sich deutlich wieder.

[3]) DIBELIUS *a.a.O.* S. 204.

die Jünger in den Stand der Freunde Jesu erhoben werden. Es entfaltet jene Ehrung, die den Mahlgenossen zuteil wird, als Jesus ihnen seinen gesegneten Becher reicht, daraus zu trinken. Indem sie zur Freundschaft Jesu erhoben werden, widerfährt ihnen — unter der Voraussetzung, dass der johanneische Christus der inkarnierte Logos ist (i 1-18) —, was dem Abraham und anderen alttestamentlichen Frommen widerfahren ist, als sie Freunde Gottes genannt wurden. Sie gleichen denen, die in der hellenistischen Welt ,,Freunde Gottes'' genannt werden, Menschen, die der Weisheit teilhaftig geworden sind. ¹) Sie sind Freunde Gottes als Empfänger der sich offenbarenden Selbstmitteilung Jesu — ,,alles, was ich von meinem Vater gehört habe, habe ich euch kundgetan (xv 15). ²) Und doch geht Jesu Aussage über die religionsgeschichtlichen Parallelen hinaus. Der die Jünger seine Freunde nennt, ist der gebietende Herr. Das lässt erkennen, dass der Aussage Jesu die alttestamentliche Aussage an Abraham am nächsten steht. Sie trennt aber zugleich von dem alttestamentlich-jüdischen Ehrentitel ,,Knecht Gottes''. Als Freunde Jesu sind über den Stand des Knechtes hinausgehoben. Das Zeichen des Knechtes ist der Gehorsam, der auf jede Einsicht verzichtet und das Gesetz um des Gesetzes, das Gebot um des Gebotes willen erfüllt. Das Zeichen des Freundes Jesu ist der einsichtige Gehorsam. Weil Jesus in seiner Liebe zu ihnen die Liebe des Vaters, die ihn trägt und sie meint, enthüllt hat, darum ist sein Gebot und Gesetz ihre Liebe untereinander. Dieser einsichtige Gehorsam wird gefordert; xv 8, 9, 10, 12 wird V. 14 aufgenommen: ,,Ihr seid meine Freunde, wenn ihr tut, was ich gebiete'', und das Freundeswort schliesst: ,,Das gebiete ich euch, dass ihr euch untereinander liebt'' ³).

So ist das Freundeswort auf der einen Seite Aufnahme des AT, und es führt zugleich darüber hinaus. Es empfiehlt sich deshalb, auf eine Linie zu achten, die im politischen Bereich bekannt ist und von der Johannes weiss, wie aus der erpresserischen Aussage

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¹) Beispiele vgl. die Anm. 1 genannte Literatur; die griechisch-hellenistische Linie ist in der Weisheitsliteratur des AT aufgenommen; vgl. vor allem Sap. vii 27, wo es von der Weisheit heisst, ,,von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht in heilige Seelen übergehend, erzeugt sie Gottes Freunde und Propheten''.

²) Beispiele aus dem Bereich der Gnosis vgl. W. Bauer, *Das Johannes-Evangelium z. St.*; auch Dibelius *a.a.O.* S. 210-212.

³) Das ἵνα kann mit ,,damit'' übersetzt werden; sein finales Verständnis besagt, dass die Einsetzung zu Freunden, denen er sein Gebot gibt (V. 14) und die er setzt, Frucht zu bringen, auf ihre Liebe untereinander abzielt.

der Juden zu Pilatus hervorgeht: ,,Wenn du diesen freilässt, bist du nicht mehr Freund des Cäsar'' (xix 12). Es gibt im seleukidischen und auch im ptolemäischen Bereich wie auch bei den Römern den Titel ,,Freund des Königs'', amicus Caesaris 1). Auch den Juden ist dieser Vorgang bekannt, und jüdische Hierokraten hasmonäischer Herkunft haben ihn getragen. Jesus ist für Johannes zum König gesalbt und als König in Jerusalem eingezogen (xii 1-19); er steht vor Pilatus als des Königtums Angeklagter und wird als solcher gerichtet (xviii 33-37; xix 1-3, 19-22). Wenn er als der gebietende Herr die Seinen seine Freunde nennt, weil er ihnen kundgetan hat, was ihm vom Vater enthüllt ist, dann sind sie ,,die Freunde des Messiaskönigs''; dies ist die Ehre, die ihnen widerfährt. V. 16 unterstreicht diese Aussage: Sie verdanken ihre Stellung als Freunde Jesu nicht ihrer eigenen, sondern seiner Wahl; er hat sie zu seinen Freunden bestimmt, und als diese sind von ihm gesetzt, bleibende Frucht zu bringen 2) und unmittelbaren Zugang zum Vater zu haben 3). Damit werden Aussagen aus der Weinstockbildrede (V. 5 + 7) wieder aufgenommen.

Das Bild des Freundes Jesu ist im Johannesevangelium Lazarus (vgl. xi 3, 5, 11, 35); da in Verbindung mit ihm zum ersten Male die später auf den Lieblingsjünger bezügliche Wendung ,,den Jesus liebhat (bzw. befreundet ist)'' begegnet (xiii 23; xix 26; xx 2; xxi 7, 21), kann man fragen, ob sich in Lazarus der Lieblingsjünger verbirgt. Er ist aus dem Tode erweckt. Dieses Zeichen an ihm ist in seiner Stellung zu Jesus begründet. Der Weinstock, der auf den Weinbecher des Herrenmahles hindeutet, ist zugleich der Lebensbaum. Die Verbundenheit des Weinstocks mit den Reben ist ihr Leben. Darin wird die Eigenart des ewigen Lebens bei Johannes greifbar. Während Sokrates von der Unsterblichkeit der menschlichen Seele in seinen Abschiedsgesprächen redet und auf sie die Ewigkeit des Lebens begründet, während persische und auch jüdische Hoffnung an eine Auferstehung denkt, die künftiges apokalyptisches Ereignis für die Gerechtenist, wird im Johannes-

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1) Vgl. dazu nach dem Vorgang von A. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien* S. 195f.; *Licht vom Osten*, 4.Aufl. S. 324; E. Bammel, φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος ThLZ 77 (1952) Sp. 205-210.

2) Frucht ist die dem anderen Menschen erwiesene Liebe und das, was dadurch aus ihm wird, ist der in der Liebe tätige Glaube.

3) *Das geschieht im Gebet*; Bultmann weist *a.a.O.* S. 420; Anm. 7 auf Epict. diss. II xxvii 29 hin: Gebet als ,,Charakteristikum der Gottesfreundschaft''.

evangelium die Gabe des ewigen Lebens in der Gemeinschaft mit Jesus gegeben. Wie die Gemeinschaft mit dem Vater für ihn die Teilhabe am Leben ist, so wird er für die Seinen dadurch der Spender des Lebens, und sie haben in der Gemeinschaft mit ihm Teilhabe am Leben (vgl. v 19-26; x 17-18); das wird im ersten Teil der Abschiedsgespräche ausgeführt. Im Vaterhaus bereitet er ihnen die Stätte und nimmt sie zu sich, sodass nicht mehr am Ort der Schatten im Totenreich ihr Platz ist (vgl. xiv 1-6, 18-20) [1]. Dessen sind sie, wie an Lazarus zeichenhaft deutlich wird, in seiner Freundschaft gewürdigt. Nicht also auf eine menschliche Qualität oder eine mirakulöse Apokalyptik sondern auf die Gemeinschaft zwischen dem Gottgesandten und den Seinen wird das ewige Leben gegründet; in ihr wird es als seine Gabe empfangen.

Nur in der lukanischen Überlieferung begegnet noch einmal die Anrede ,,Freunde'' an Jesu Jünger; sie verbindet ein Wort, das vom Bekannt-werden der verborgenen Offenbarung, deren Verkünder die Jünger sind, handelt, mit einem Wort des Zuspruches angesichts ihrer in der Welt gefährdeten Situation (Luk. xii 4). Es verdient in diesem Zusammenhang beachtet zu werden, dass von der in der Welt gefährdeten Situation in Joh. xv der mit V. 18 beginnende Zusammenhang handelt. Ihr angefochtenes Sein in der Welt stehen die Jünger durch als die zu Freunden Jesu bestellten Menschen [2]. Daran könnte sichtbar werden, dass in der johanneischen Überlieferung ein versunkener Gedankenkreis sichtbar wird, von dem sich bei Lukas eine Spur erhalten hat. Sein ,,Sitz im Leben'' dürfte in den Anfängen des urchristlichen Herrenmahles zu suchen sein.

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[1] Dahinter steht ein ganz bestimmtes Verständnis des Todes, das im Joh.-Ev. nicht expliziert wird: Tod als Vereinsamung, das Ende der Verselbstigung des Menschen durch Lösung aus der Gemeinschaft mit Gott und mit den Menschen, während das Leben in der Neubegründung der Gemeinschaft gewonnen wird.

[2] Wenn das Gleichnis Luk. xi 5-9 den Gedanken der Gottesfreundschaft der Jünger implizieren sollte, dann gehört es in den Zusammenhang hinein, auf den S. 68 Anm. 3 ausdrücklich hingewiesen ist.

DAS ABENDMAHL JESU UNTER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG MODERNER FORSCHUNG 1)

VON

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I

Wir finden bei den Synoptikern in Mk xiv 22-25; Mt. xxvi 26-29; Lk xxii 15-20 und bei Paulus in 1. Kor. xi 23-25 den Bericht darüber, dass Jesus am Abend vor seinem Tode eine Mahlzeit gehalten habe, die in sich noch eine besondere, bisher nicht unter ihnen übliche Feier enthielt, deren spätere Wiederholung er wünschte 2). Letzteres allerdings nur bei Paulus (V. 24 f.) und Lk. (V. 19 f.) deutlich gesagt mit den Worten: „Das tut zu meinem Gedächtnis!", aber von Mk. und Mt. auch wohl vorausgesetzt, da die christliche Gemeinde, der sie doch angehörten, sie sonst nicht dauernd gefeiert haben würde. Da Jesus diese Feier, später das „Herrenmahl" genannt, am Abend vor seinem Tode einsetzte, liegt es nahe, anzunehmen, dass er dadurch eine Toten-Gedächtnis-Feier habe stiften wollen, wie sie in hellenistischer Zeit häufig vorkamen 3). Wenn E. SCHWEIZER, Zürich, in seinem umfassenden Artikel „Abendmahl im Neuen Testament" (RGG^3 1958) es energisch ablehnt, die von Jesus gemeinte Feier sich so vorstellen zu müssen, während er doch vielmehr eine den Jüngern und ihren Glaubens-

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1) Auf die bei Paulus und Johannes vorliegenden Probleme konnte in diesem Artikel nicht eingegangen werden. Es hätte an unseren Resultaten auch nichts geändert.

2) Vgl. Mk xiv 22: ἐοθεόντων „*während* sie (sc. das Passamahl) assen", reichte er Brot, woran sich später die Darreichung von Wein anschloss; ebenso Mt xxvi 26 ff. Bei Lc liegt die Sache komplizierter, wozu hier nicht Stellung genommen werden kann. — Für alle Fragen der Textgestaltung und schliesslich für den Sinn der ganzen Feier überhaupt ist heute unentbehrlich die sehr gelehrte Arbeit von JOACHIM JEREMIAS: „*Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu*", 2. A Göttingen 1949.

3) Vgl. für die griechisch-römische Welt z.B. „CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE: „*Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*" Bd II 1925, S. 298 f; 437 f; ferner LIETZMANN: *Handbuch zum N.T.* Excurse zu 1. Cor. xi 22 ff.

genossen immer neu zu schenkende Gabe gemeint habe, so werden wir zwar zugeben, dass sich diese Gedächtnisfeier von anderen, profanen dadurch unterschied; aber damit wird doch nicht aufgehoben, dass Jesus in der Tat mit dieser Feier ein Gedächtnis an seine Person und sein Wirken einschliesslich seines Todes stiften wollte. Ihm genügte die einfache, natürliche Erinnerung der Seinen an ihn nicht, die sich in der Seele als liebendes Gedenken von selbst vollzieht, sondern er wollte dieses ihm so wichtige Gedenken der Jünger an ihn noch durch eine besondere Feier stützen, sichern und verstärken. Unter den grossen Religionsstiftern finden wir keinen anderen, der ein solches Gedächtnismahl an sich selbst eingerichtet hätte; sie haben sich alle mit der Gewissheit begnügt, dass das Andenken an ihre Person und ihre Taten von selbst in ihren Anhängern fortleben würde. Wir müssen also in dem Handeln Jesu ein Zeichen seines besonders hohen Selbst- und Wertbewusstseins erblicken, des Bewusstseins seiner Einzigartigkeit und Unentbehrlichkeit für die Menschheit. Ob wir ihm das Recht dazu zubilligen, ist keine rein geschichtliche, sondern auch eine Glaubensfrage. Jedenfalls also muss in Lehre und Praxis stärker betont werden, dass das Abendmahl zunächst eine *Gedächtnisfeier* an Jesu Person und Wirken sein sollte und deshalb sein muss.

Hierbei ist allerdings zu bedenken, dass diese Gedächtnisfeier nicht bloss eine rein objektive Erinnerung an eine grosse Gestalt der Geschichte sein kann, der wir mit mehr oder weniger Interesse gegenüberstehen können, sondern dass Jesus von der ganzen Feier voraussetzt, dass sie im Glauben gehalten und Glaubensstärkung in ihr gesucht werde. So ist diese Gedächtnisfeier zugleich ein Bekenntnis, wie auch Paulus sagt: „So oft ihr demnach dieses Brot esset und den Becher trinket, verkündet ihr den Tod des Herrn, bis er kommt.'' (1. Kor. xi 26). Dies Verkündigen ist eben ein sich Bekennen zu Jesus mit der Tat dieser Feier; das Essen und Trinken ist selbst die Verkündigung. Wir sagen also zunächst: das von Jesus gemeinte Mahl soll ein Gedächtnismahl an ihn und ein Bekenntnismahl zu ihm sein.

Darin liegt dann aber noch unweigerlich das dritte Moment, dass es auch ein Gelöbnismahl sein muss. Zu Jesus sich bekennen, hat bei ihm niemals bloss geheissen, seine Wohltaten sich schenken lassen und geniessen, sondern immer zugleich den Entschluss kund tun, nun auch den von ihm verkündeten und vorgelebten

Willen Gottes erfüllen, der sich vor allem im Gebot der Nächstenliebe offenbart. Dazu vgl. besonders Mt. vii 21 ff und xxv 31 ff. Ein Bekenntnis ohne solches Gelöbnis hat in Jesu Augen keinen Wert. In unserem Falle ergibt sich aus der ganzen Situation des gemeinsamen Essens und Trinkens, dass die Feier in erster Linie die Bruderliebe, die Gemeinschaft der Gläubigen untereinander zu stärken bestimmt ist. Die Verbundenheit mit Jesus, dem Haupt der Jünger-Gemeinde, erweckt aufs neue die Verpflichtung der Jünger zur Verbundenheit untereinander, oder noch besser: jene, wenn sie recht verstanden wird, ist geeignet, diese von selbst zu erzeugen [1]). Wir müssen also zur Charakteristik des Abendmahls hinzufügen, dass es auch ein Gelöbnismahl sein soll.

Endlich ist noch bemerkenswert, dass Jesus in Mk xiv 26 und ebenso in Mt. xxvi 24 ausspricht, dass er diese Feier im kommenden Gottesreiche mit den Jüngern wiederholen werde. Bei Lk. in Kap. xxii 14ff. ist diese Verheissung auf das Passamahl bezogen, bei Pl. in 1. Kor. xi 26 ist weder von einer Fortsetzung des Passa noch des Herrenmahles bis über die Wiederkunft Jesu und in das zukünftige Gottesreich hinein die Rede, sondern lediglich davon, dass die Gemeinde diese Gedenkfeier an den Tod ihres Herrn fortsetzen soll, „bis er kommt". Dieser eschatologische Hinweis Jesu ist also nur als ein Ausblick zum Schluss, als eine Art Anhang, der nicht im Mittelpunkt der Feier steht, zu werten [2]). Aber immerhin scheint Jesu Blick bei der Einsetzung des Abendmahls doch *auch*, wenn auch nicht zentral, auf die Vollendung des von ihm begründeten Gottesreiches sich gerichtet zu haben. Es bleibt für uns allerdings ein nicht zu beseitigender Anstoss, dass diese Vollendung mit gemeinsamer Mahlzeit auf Erden gefeiert werden soll. Hier blicken uns doch wohl Elemente der spätjüdischen Eschatologie an, die wir in dieser materiellen Form nicht mehr teilen können [3]). Wir werden also diesem eschatologischen Zug im Abendmahl allerdings einen bestimmten Platz in unseren Feiern geben müssen, woran es leider alle mir bekannten Liturgien fehlen lassen; aber wir werden dabei aus Jesu Worten nur die allgemeine Hoffnung oder Gewissheit ableiten, dass das Reich Gottes einmal überhaupt seine Vollendung finden wird, ohne dass wir sagen können, welche Gestalt es haben wird. So ist das Abendmahl in Jesu Sinn und Absicht ein Mahl des Gedächtnisses, ein Mahl des Bekennens, ein Mahl des Gelöbnisses und ein Mahl der Hoffnung.

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[1]) Wie Johannes es später ausdrückt: „*Wer Gott liebt, liebt auch seinen Bruder*. Jeder, der seinen Erzeuger liebt, liebt auch den, der von ihm gezeugt ist" (1. Jo. v 1).

[2]) Er ist deshalb wohl auch nicht so stark als ein die ganze Stiftung beherrschender Gedanke zu behandeln, wie es bei G. BORNKAMM „*Jesus von Nazareth*" 1956, S. 148 und bei E. SCHWEIZER a.a.O. Sp. 11 unter 1c geschieht.

[3]) Materielle Vorstellungen von dem vollendeten Reich, die keineswegs als blosse Bilder beurteilt werden können, finden sich bei Jesus auch sonst, z.B. Mt viii 11; Lk xiii 29; Mk x 29 f; Mt xix 23, 28 f.; Lk xviii 29 f.

II

Äusserlich angesehen ist die Stiftung des Herrenmahles veranlasst worden durch die von Jesus und seinen Jüngern am Donnerstag vor seinem Tode in Jerusalem gehaltene *Passafeier*. Den Streit der Gelehrten, ob Jesu letztes Mahl ein Passa war oder nicht, ist von JEREMIAS durch Heranziehung des spätjüdischen Schrifttums über das Passafest unseres Erachtens endgültig zu Gunsten der ersteren Gruppe entschieden worden [1]). Jeremias hat nachgewiesen, dass die sämtlichen vier Unterabschnitte, in die der Abendmahls-Bericht des Mk. (xiv 12-26) zerfällt, nämlich die Zurüstung des Passamahles (V. 12-16), die Verräter-Bezeichnung (V. 17-21), die Deuteworte (V. 22-25) und der Aufbruch (V. 26), samt Parallelen bei Mt. und Lk., den damaligen Passaritus voraussetzen und als gewöhnliche Mahlzeit aufgefasst unverständlich werden (so in der 1.Aufl. S. 14-27, in der 2.Aufl. werden diese Gründe auf S. 18-34 noch durch andere verstärkt). Das ist sehr wichtig zur Feststellung und zum Verständnis der Handlungsweise Jesu, die einerseits an den Ritus des jüdischen Passa anknüpft, andererseits es inhaltlich durch eine ganz neue Feier ersetzt.

Die Anknüpfung an den Passa-Ritus besteht zunächst darin, dass Jesus nach dem ältesten Bericht bei Mk. bei der Mahlzeit einen Brotfladen nimmt, ihn segnet (wohl durch ein dankendes Gebetswort wie in V. 23), ihn in 12 Stücke zerbricht und sie den Jüngern darreicht unter den Worten: „Nehmet hin, dies ist mein Leib!" (xiv 22) [2]). Ebenso bei Mt. xxvi 26. Sodann darin, dass Jesus etwas später auch einen Becher mit Wein nimmt, ihn ebenfalls dankend segnet, den Jüngern darreicht und dazu spricht: „Dies ist mein Blut des Bundes, ausgegossen für viele" (V. 23). Mt. hat in V. 28 dasselbe, unter Zusatz der Worte „zur Vergebung der Sünden", die aber nicht von Jesus, sondern aus der liturgischen Praxis der christlichen Gemeinde stammen, da Mk. sie sonst nicht ausgelassen hätte (vgl. SCHWEIZER a.a.O., Sp. xiii oben). Das *Neue* für die Abendmahlsforschung ist nun dies: dass Jesus Elemente der Passafeier (Brot und Wein) nimmt, darreicht und sie deutet, ist nicht eine von ihm selbst erstmalig beschlossene und ausgeführte Handlung, wie es der kirchlichen Dogmatik und Liturgik herkömlich erscheint, sondern eine Handlung, die nach dem üblichen Passa-Ritus jedem jüdischen Familienvater oblag. Das zeigt uns JEREMIAS auf S. 30 ff seines oben angeführten Buches. Der Hausherr hatte in erster Linie Passa-Lamm, ungesäuertes Brot und Bitterkräuter symbolisch oder allegorisch zu deuten, wofür zahlreiche Beispiele überliefert sind, sodann aber auch die vier Becher des Passamahles. Wir besitzen nun bloss die Worte Jesu über Brot und Wein, weil er an diese Elemente die Belehrung an seine Jünger angeknüpft hat, die er wünschte: er wollte diese Elemente als Bilder gebrauchen für seinen Leib und sein Blut, and zwar letzteres mit Beziehung auf seinen bevorstehenden Tod. Aufs neue ist durch JEREMIAS's Untersuchungen erwiesen, dass Jesu Handlung eine Bildhandlung war, dass Brot und Wein, Essen und Trinken symbolischen Charakter tragen sollten. Alle diejenigen Theologen und Kirchen gehen fehl, die von irgend einer Verwandlung des Brotes in seinen Leib, des Weines in sein Blut, oder von einer übernatürlichen Verbindung von Brot und Leib, Wein und Blut reden. Brot bleibt Brot, Wein bleibt Wein, und so ist, was die Jünger und alle ihnen nachfolgenden Christen mit dem Munde empfangen, nur Brot und nur Wein, und nicht irgendeine himmlische Substanz. Der Begriff „Sakrament" in letzterem Sinne ist also veraltet, sowohl beim Abendmahl wie bei der Taufe. Uns scheint dies durch die Parallelen zum Passaritus nunmehr unwiderleglich bewiesen zu sein. Die Jünger konnten ihren Herrn und Meister, der als frommer Hausvater ihrer kleinen Familie und als Mensch aus Fleisch und Blut unter ihnen sass, gar nicht anders verstehen.

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[1]) SCHWEIZER a.a.O. Sp. 17 Nr. 6 schreibt allerdings: „Ob das letzte Mahl ein Passa war oder nicht, lässt sich nicht mehr ausmachen". Er lässt die Frage also offen, indem er sich allen Argumenten für oder wider skeptisch gegenüberstellt. Im übrigen scheint sie ihm „theologisch" überhaupt unwichtig zu sein (Sp. 18).

[2]) Da in Jesu aramäischer Sprache das „ist" fortfiel, war Luthers Pochen auf dies Wort ohne Beweiskraft für seine Deutung.

Aber damit wird ja der Sinn der Gabe nicht erschöpft. Was wollte Jesus näher mit seinem Doppelgleichnis sagen? Wir müssen zum rechten Verständnis im Auge behalten, dass die Worte vom Brot und die vom Wein nicht etwa unmittelbar hinter einander gesprochen worden sind, sondern das erste vor, das andere nach dem Essen des Passalammes [1]. Daher sind auch beide Worte getrennt zu betrachten (vgl. E. Schweizer a.a.O., Sp. xiv oben). Wenn nun nach fast allgemeiner Anschauung in dem Wort zur Brotdarreichung bereits ein Hinweis auf Jesu bevorstehenden Tod liegen soll, da das Brechen des Brotes auf ein „Gebrochenwerden" des Leibes durch den Tod hindeute, so können wir dieser Auffassung nicht zustimmen. Man kann das Sterben am Kreuz nicht als ein Zerbrechen des Leibes bezeichnen. Auch kommt in keinem Bericht von der Stiftung des Abendmahls diese Wendung vor. Nur Lk. hat überhaupt zu „Leib" einen Zusatz, aber er lautet nur: „Der für euch gegeben wird" (xxii 19) und ist bei diesem späten Text auch wohl erst durch die Überlieferung geformt. In dem Wort vom Brot und Leib kann also bei natürlicher Auslegung zunächst nur dies liegen: in der Darreichung des Brotes reiche ich euch zugleich mich selbst dar, mit all dem Heil und Segen, der für euch in mir liegt und den ihr auch mit dem gläubigen Essen dieses Brotes euch aneignet, wie ihr die nährende Kraft des Brotes für euren Leib durch das Verzehren desselben euch aneignet. Und in dem Zerbrechen des Brotes und der Austeilung von 12 Stücken desselben Fladens kann dann nur liegen, dass jeder einzelne Jünger sich als Glied einer zusammengehörigen Gemeinschaft fühlen und dass also durch dies gemeinsame Essen das oft fehlende Gemeinschaftsgefühl der Jünger gestärkt werden soll. Wir glauben, dass hiermit der Sinn des Brotgleichnisses Jesu erschöpft ist.

Bei dem Wort, das Jesus später über den Becher mit Wein spricht [2], ist dann freilich die Deutung des Weines auf sein am Kreuz im Sterben zu vergiessendes Blut klar [3]. Die Worte lauten bei Mk: „Und er nahm einen Becher [4], dankte und gab ihnen den, und sie tranken alle daraus; und er sagte zu ihnen: 'Das ist mein

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[1] Vgl. Jeremias S. 47 f. Zum Passalamm gesellten sich auch Mazzen und Bitterkraut.

[2] Nach Jeremias war es der zweite beim Passa getrunkene Becher, dem noch zwei andere folgten.

[3] Das participium praes. ἐχκυννάμενον hat hier futurischen Sinn.

[4] Lk und Pl. fügen richtig erklärend hinzu: „*Nach* dem Essen", nämlich des Lammes (Lk xxii 20; 1. Cor. xi 25). Unsere Agenden sagen missverständlich „nach dem Abendmahl", womit wir doch die *ganze* Feier zu bezeichnen pflegen, die aber mit diesem Becher noch nicht abschloss (vgl. Jeremias a.a.O. S. 47 ff).

Bundesblut, das für viele vergossen wird' ". Zunächst wird hier noch einmal zum Überfluss deutlich, dass die Gleichsetzung von Wein und Blut bildlich und nicht irgendwie substantiell zu verstehen ist; denn gerade das Trinken von Blut war für einen Juden etwas Abstossendes und Unmögliches [1]). Jesus weist die Jünger also darauf hin, dass er — wie er das öfter vorausgesagt hatte — sein Blut am Kreuz für sie vergiessen werde, und fordert sie dazu auf, diesen roten Wein im Becher als Bild seines Blutes zu trinken, mit anderen Worten: durch dieses symbolische Trinken sich den Segen seines Todes anzueignen. Er will ihnen also dies furchtbare Ende seines unschuldigen Lebens als dennoch sinnvoll verständlich machen, um sie vor dem gänzlichen Zusammenbruch ihres Glaubens zu behüten [2]). Es ist also ein Akt seelsorgerlicher Liebe, den er an ihnen vollzieht.

Aber *welchen Sinn* gibt er denn nun seinem Tode? Das liegt in der Bezeichnung seines Blutes als „Bundesblut" (Mk., Mt.) oder „Blut des neuen Bundes" (Lk., Pl.) [3]). Wenn Jesus hier von einem neuen Bund redet, den er stiften wolle, so muss er ihn damit einem alten Bunde gegenüberstellen wollen. Welcher Bund soll damit gemeint sein? Selbstverständlich zunächst ein Bund zwischen Gott und dem von ihm erwählten Volke Israel. Aber nun bleiben zwei Möglichkeiten. Gewöhnlich denkt man dabei an den durch Mose auf dem Sinai zwischen Gott und dem Volke geschlossenen Bund, wie es uns im 2. B. Mose xxiv 1-8 beschrieben ist. Im ganzen Alten Testament wird auf diesen Bundesschluss immer wieder hingewiesen als auf die Grundlage der einzigartigen Stellung Israels unter allen Völkern. Dann hätte Jesus sich also in der Erkenntnis der Unzulänglichkeit und Vorläufigkeit dieses alten Bundes, wie sie schon Jer. xxxi 31-34 ausgesprochen hatte, als Gründer eines neuen Bundes betrachtet, den er durch Vergiessen seines Blutes besiegeln werde. Die Opfer, die am Sinai geschlachtet wurden (V. 5), waren aber keine Sühnopfer sondern dienten nur zur Blutgewinnung. Das Blut wurde zu einem Teil für Gott auf den Altar gesprengt, zum anderen Teil auf das Volk, um so den Bund zwischen beiden auch sinnenfällig anzudeuten, wie das im Altertum auch sonst bei Bundschliessungen Sitte war. Die gemeinsame Teilnahme an demselben Blut kittete beide Blutempfänger, sei es Mensch und Mensch, sei es Gott und Mensch, auf das festeste zusammen. Der Unterschied in unserem Falle ist nur der, dass am Sinai das Blut von Tieren den von Mose geschlossenen Bund bekräftigte, während es auf Golgatha das Blut des Bundesmittlers selbst ist. Jesu Worte wollten also sagen: ,,So oft ihr bei solcher Gedächtnisfeier von diesem Wein trinkt, bekennt ihr euch zu dem Bunde mit Gott, und Gott bekennt sich zu dem Bunde mit euch, den ich als der Mittler durch mein ganzes Wirken geschlossen und durch meinen Tod besiegelt habe. Dadurch werden euch erneut alle Früchte dieses Bundes zugesprochen [1]), wie ihr andererseits sie aufzunehmen und diesem Bund Treue zu halten gelobt.

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[1]) Schweizer sagt: „auch nur der Hinweis auf eine solche Möglichkeit wäre für einen Juden ein horrendes Ansinnen gewesen." (Sp. 13 unten).

[2]) Dass ihm dies nicht gelungen ist, zeigt das Gespräch der Emmaus-Jünger bei Lk cap. xxiv V. 19-21.

[3]) Wenn doch endlich aus unseren Bibeln und Agenden die irreführende, dem Laien unverständliche Übersetzung verschwände: „Das ist das Blut des Neuen Testaments"! Wir verstehen unter dem Neuen Testament doch ein *Buch,* was hier natürlich nicht gemeint ist.

Mit Recht hat der Erlanger Religions-Historiker H. J. SCHOEPS in seiner Schirft über das Leben Jesu 1954 S. 24, darauf hingewiesen, dass durch diese Worte vom neuen Bunde in letzter Instanz die Grundlage für die Entstehung einer christlichen Kirche gelegt worden sei, die ja ein Gott und Menschen in Christus umschliessender Bund genannt werden muss. Allerdings haben die Jünger zunächst diese Aufforderung, sich als ein neuer zusammengehöriger Bund zu fühlen, nicht verstanden; denn wie die vier Evangelien zeigen, sind sie alle auseinander gelaufen, und glichen nicht einem Bunde sondern einer verscheuchten und zerstreuten Herde ohne Hirten. Was sie aber dann wieder zusammengeführt und endgültig zu einer fest verbundenen neuen Gemeinde gemacht hat, waren die Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen, die auch auf seinen Anspruch, Mittler des neuen Bundes zu sein, das Siegel der Wahrheit drückten.

Bei dieser Auffassung der Kelchworte und ihrer Bezugnahme auf den Sinaibund müssen wir bleiben, trotz der von JEREMIAS S. 107 ff. vorgetragenen und gebilligten 2. Auslegung der Kelchworte. JEREMIAS teilt mit, dass man an mehreren Stellen der talmudischen Literatur das Blut der beim Auszug aus Ägypten geschlachteten Passalämmer als ,,Bundesblut'' bezeichnet habe, dass also der Bund schon beim Auszug aus Ägypten geschlossen und dass diesem

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[1]) Wir denken an Luthers ,,Vergebung, Leben und Seligkeit'' (Kl. Kat., 5. Hptst.).

Passablut sühnende Bedeutung zuzusprechen sei. Jesus soll dann sein eigenes Blut als Sühneblut diesem sühnenden Blut der Lämmer des Auszugs gegenübergestellt haben. Diese späte, mit überaus künstlichen, echt rabbinischen Gedanken (siehe JEREMIAS) konstruierte Auslegung der Geschichte des Auszugs (Ex. 12) stimmt mit der alttestamentlichen Darstellung der Umstände in keiner Weise überein. Sie ist auch als Meinung Jesu und seiner Zeitgenossen nicht nachweisbar. Auch aus inneren Gründen könnte Jesus sie nicht geteilt haben, denn sie operiert deutlich mit dem von ihm immer bekämpften jüdischen Lohngedanken [1]). Wir müssen also bei der Erklärung seiner Kelchworte das Blut der Passalämmer in Ägypten beiseite lassen [2]) und an der oben vorgetragenen Auslegung festhalten.

III

Unsere vorstehenden, auf rein exegetischem Wege, ohne dogmatische Voreingenommenheit angestellten Untersuchungen haben gezeigt, dass sich der sachliche Wert der Abendmahlsfeier innerhalb des Wertkomplexes hält, den auch die Wortverkündigung uns vermittelt. Das Abendmahl bringt keine neuen Heilsgaben, die über die in der Wortverkündigung enthaltenen hinausführten. Das Wort schon sichert uns das volle Heil in Christus zu. Man hat allerdings öfter versucht, dem Abendmahl eine besondere Heilsgabe zuzuschreiben. Was darüber gesagt worden ist, kann im einzelnen hier nicht angeführt werden. Aber es führt sich schliesslich alles darauf zurück, dass im Abendmahl eine mystische, geheimnisvolle Vereinigung mit dem himmlischen Christus erlebt werden soll, der in einer besonderen, wenn auch übersinnlichen Weise bei der Feier gegenwärtig gedacht wird [3]). Natürlich verführt dieser exegetisch unhaltbare Gedanke zu den wilkürlichsten Spekulationen und spitzfindigsten Fragen, die mit der wirklichen Absicht Jesu nichts mehr zu tun haben. Sie verführt auch zu der übertriebenen Hochschätzung dieser Feier, als wäre die Teilnahme an ihr erst ein Zeichen vollendeten Christentums. Es bedarf ja bekanntlich erst der Konfirmation, um zu ihr zugelassen zu werden, wodurch in den Gemeinden der Irrtum entstanden ist, als befände man sich erst im Abendmahl auf der höchsten Ebene christlicher Frömmigkeit. Das Besondere am Abendmahl ist aber nur, dass wir hier speziell des Todes Jesu gedenken (richtig freilich nur im Zusammenhang mit seinem ganzen Leben!), und dass wir Gottes Heilsgaben unter Begleitung der von Jesus bestimmten realen, sinnlichen, sichtbaren Elemente empfangen, die auf sie hinweisen. Auch hierbei aber ist das Wort der Verkündigung nötig, um sie nicht falsch zu verstehen und zu deuten.

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[1]) Die Errettung aus Ägypten wird als Lohn dafür aufgefasst, dass die Juden sowohl mit dem Blut der Beschneidung wie mit dem Blut des Passa gehorsam den Willen Gottes erfüllt hätten (S. 10 Anm. 3).

[2]) Die Verwendung des beim Auszug an die Pfosten der Häuser gestrichenen Blutes trägt ganz deutlich die Züge des in den antiken Religionen weit verbreiteten *Abwehr-Zaubers* an sich, da es vor der Todesseuche, die im Volke umging, schützen sollte (vgl. CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE: a.a.O. Register unter „Abwehr").

[3]) Über alle damit zusammenhängenden Fragen orientiert eingehend das von dogmatisch-konfessionellem Standpunkt ausgehende Werk von REINHOLD-KOCH: „Erbe und Auftrag, das Abendmahls-Gespräch in der Theologie des 20. Jahrhunderts", München 1957.

Auf der anderen Seite liegt aber auch eine Unterschätzung des Gehaltes der Feier vor, wenn sie in der kirchlichen Praxis nur als eine mit einer vorangegangenen Beichte verbundene Feier der göttlichen Vergebung der Sünden behandelt wird. Wir haben gesehen, dass mit diesem einen und an sich doch negativen Gut die Fülle des positiven Segens, der in der Feier zur Wirkung kommen soll, auch nicht entfernt erschöpft ist. Daraufhin müssten alle Abendmahls-Liturgien und auch alle Abendmahls-Lieder geprüft werden, ob sie der Feier wirklich gerecht werden. Wir fürchten, dass dies nicht der Fall ist.

THE VERB *AKOYEIN* IN ACTS IX 7 AND XXII 9

BY

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Two of the three accounts of the conversion of Paul in the Book of Acts contain a formal contradiction, which most commentaries and some grammars call merely "imaginary;" they give—not always very clear—grammatical rules according to which the difficulty would be dissolved and an even deeper meaning be given to the passages concerned:

Acts ix 7: "And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing a voice but seeing no man."

Acts xxii 9: "And they that were with me saw indeed the light, and were afraid, but they did not hear the voice of him that spake to me" [1]).

Together with these two passages should be taken a third parallel account of Paul's conversion, which, however, is sometimes left unconsidered in discussions:

Acts xxvi 14: "And when we had all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice speaking unto me, and saying in the Hebrew tongue, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks."

All discussions of these passages are centered around the grammatical construction of the verb ἀκούειν, 'to hear.' Commentators who insist that the contradiction in the first two verses quoted is purely imaginative, point out that in one case (ix 7) ἀκούειν is constructed with the genitive, while in the other case (xxii 9) we find the verb connected with the accusative.

In view of the fact, however, that other authors cannot see any difference in the meaning of the two usages and claim that in Hellenistic times both the genitive and accusative are used *indiscrimi-*

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[1]) All translations of Biblical passages are from the A.V.

nately with the verb ἀκούειν, the writer believed it a worthwhile project to investigate the usage of this verb in different authors of different periods. It is the thesis of this paper that the author of Acts used the verb ἀκούειν with both the accusative and genitive without a differentiation in meaning. This conclusion was reached

1) by a general study of the usage of this verb in

a. the LXX
b. the N.T.
c. the works of Epictetus,

and

2) by a detailed comparison of the three passages in Acts mentioned above.

I

The study of the N.T. and its language is to a large extent characterized by the fact that many people take this basic book of Christianity out of its historical and linguistic context and consider it only *in vacuo*, a book given to mankind in a miraculous way through divine *fiat*.

It was DEISSMANN who pointed out that such views grew out of an isolated study of the N.T., which again had its root in the theory of mechanical inspiration and the concept of a rigidly fixed canon at a very early date [1]).

It was only in the latter part of the preceding century that the language of the Greek N.T. was placed within its proper context with the Greek common at the time of its composition. As late as 1894 such a great scholar as Friedrich Blass could say that the N.T. Greek is to be recognized as something peculiar, following its own laws [2]). It is characteristic for Blass's concept of scholarship that he changed his opinion when he came to see that his position was erroneous.

Even at a time when the idea of the N.T. Greek being a language all by itself had largely been given up, its true position within the framework of the history of the Greek language was not recognized by all scholars. If up till now we have quoted remarks concerning the character of the language of the N.T. as a whole, we shall now enumerate some of the most common opinions held by scholars concerning the usage of ἀκούειν in our passages in Acts.

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[1]) DEISSMANN A.: *Licht vom Osten*^{4}, Tübingen (Mohr), 1923, p. 52.
[2]) *Ibid.*

Our witnesses can easily be divided into two main groups, namely:

1) those who maintain that there is a difference in meaning between ἀκούειν *cum accusativo* and ἀκούειν *cum genitivo* in the passages about Paul's conversion;

and

2) those who cannot discover such a difference of meaning.

The position of the first school is based mainly on the rule of the school-grammarians that "verbs of hearing, learning, etc. may take an accusative of the thing heard etc. and a genitive of the person heard from" [1]).

The most outstanding English-writing scholar in this school is J. H. MOULTON:

> ,,The fact that the maintenance of an old and well-known distinction between the acc. and the gen. with ἀκούω saves the author of Ac ix 7 and xxii 9 from a patent self-contradiction, should by itself be enough to make us recognize it for Luke, and for other writers until it is proved wrong [2])".

The noteworthy aspect of this passage is its apologetical character: because a distinction in meaning would save the author from a contradiction, we have to postulate such a difference of meaning for Luke.

MOULTON was taken up by A. T. ROBERTSON who refers to the "wellknown distinction between the accusative and genitive with ἀκούω in Ac ix 7 and xxii 9 as disproof of apparent self-contradiction", [3]) warning at the same time, "not to be too ready to blur over case distinctions in Luke or elsewhere in the N.T."

Robertson is also the author who gives the clearest statement of the position taken by him and those commentators who have similar tenets:

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[1]) GOODWIN W. W. & GULICK C. B.: *Greek Grammar*, Boston (Ginn & Company), 1930, sect. 1104, p. 234.

[2]) MOULTON J. H.: *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, Edinburgh (Clark), 1906, vol. I, p. 66, based on Winer G. B.: *A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek*, tr. Moulton W. F., Edinburgh (Clark), 1882, p. 249.

[3]) ROBERTSON A. T.: *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, New York (Hodder & Stoughton), 1914, pp. 448-9.

'. . . it is perfectly proper to appeal to the distinction in the cases in the apparent contradiction between ἀκούειν μὲν τῆς φωνῆς (Ac. ix 7) and τὴν δὲ φωνὴν οὐκ ἤκουσαν (xxii 9). The accusative (case of extent) accents the intellectual apprehension of the sound, while the genitive (specifying case) calls attention to the sound of the voice accenting the sense. The word ἀκούω itself has two senses which fall in well with this case-distinction, one 'to hear', the other 'to understand'. Cf. οὗ οὐκ ἤκουσαν (Ro. x 14) and μὴ οὐκ ἤκουσαν (Ro. x 18). And yet the genitive can be used where the sense is met though not stressed, as ἤκουσαν φωνῆς (Ac. xxii 7), but ἤκουσαν φωνήν (Ac. ix 4 and xxvi 14) [1])".

This sustained, objective statement of an opinion by the scholar Robertson turns into a temperamental argument in the hands of a contemporary controversialist, who attacks the way in which the R.S.V. translates the passages concerned:

"It is a commonplace in Greek grammar that the verb *to hear* with one construction may mean to hear the sound *without understanding* it, but with another construction may mean *to hear* and *understand*. The translators well knew this but refused to let the harmony appear that is in Luke's narrative, choosing rather to promote Disharmony. So they translate, in Acts ix 7, "hearing the voice" and in xxii 9, "did not hear the voice." That is lack of good will or even respect for the Word of God. And it falsifies Luke's witness. Thayer gives the latter passage as meaning: "to perceive by the ear what is announced in one's presence." Paul's companions "heard the voice", in the sense of noting that there was a voice; but "they did not understand the voice" in the sense of "perceiving by the ear what the voice announced in their presence." The Greek of the two statements is not the same. The RSV translators translate it as if it were the same. It falsifies the witness, in hatred of Harmony, in love of Disharmony in the Bible. It is an insult to the memory of the great historian Luke, a disservice of truth and a manifest haughty attitude of contempt for the Bible. All these men are authors of books. What would they think if some one translated *their* books into a foreign language in any hostile fashion? That they know better is clearly seen by their translating this same verb "heed" (John x 8); "listen" (Mark ix 7); and "understand" (I Cor.

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[1] *op. cit.* p. 506.

xiv 2). Yet the passage in Acts xxii 9 is more favorable to a friendly and fair translation than in these cases [1])".

On his search for points in the R.S.V. which seem to contradict the special views held by Taylor, he must have included this particular passage without checking some other translations, old and recent, else he would have found that practically all translators render the passages just as the R.S.V. does. They caused already concern to the editors of the so-called *Scofield Reference Bible*, who felt compelled to add the following footnote to Acts ix 7: "Cf. Acts xxii 9; xxvi 14. A contradiction has been imagined. The three statements should be taken together. The men heard the 'voice' as a sound (Gr. *phone*), but did not hear the 'voice' as articulating the *words*, 'Saul, Saul,' etc." [2]).

Some scholars attempt to save the doctrine of Scriptural inerrancy by referring the words ἀκούοντες μὲν τῆς φωνῆς in ix. 7 not, as is usually done, to ἤκουσα τὴν φωνήν in v. 4, but to the words of Saul. Bruce prefers this position as against that of Robertson and Moulton, [3]) taking it from an article in the *Expository Times.* [4])

But R. J. Knowling pointed out that this argument is as old as Chrysostom [5]) and is "certainly not natural" [6]). It seems to be a rather desperate apologetic device to save the consistency of the passages and will not be considered any further in the following discussion.

It remains to check those writers who do not believe that the N.T. usage of the verb ἀκούειν is in all instances consistent with the rules of the classical literary language.

Ph. Buttmann and his son Alexander have to be mentioned first not only because of their chronological priority, but also because their position is somewhat intermediate.

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[1]) Taylor W.C.: *The New Bible, Pro and Con*, New York (Vantage Press), 1955, p. 220.

[2]) Scofield C. I., ed.: *The Holy Bible*, New York (Oxford University Press), new and improved edition, 1945, p. 1160, n. 1.

[3]) Bruce F. F.: *The Acts of the Apostles*, London (Tyndale Press), 1951, p. 199.

[4]) *Expository Times*, vi (1894-5), pp. 238-9; signed "E.T."

[5]) John Chrysostomos, *In Acta Apostolorum*, Homilia XIX, Migne edition, 1859, vol. 60, p. 153.

[6]) Knowling R. J.: "*The Acts of the Apostles*" in Nicoll W. R., ed.: *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, New York (Dodd, Mead & Co.), 1900, *ad. loc.*

"Was zunaechst die nominalen Verbindungen betrifft (. . .), so steht die Person, sofern sie der Urheber des unmittelbar vernommenen Schalles oder Rede ist, durchaus nur im *Genitiv*, nie im Akkusativ; die Sache sowol (*sic*) im *Akkusativ*, insofern die Rede, der Schall das natürliche Objekt des Hörens ist, als auch (aber nur bei Subst., die einen Schall etc. bedeuten) im *Genitiv*, insofern wie so oft durch Metomymie (. . .) statt der redenden etc. die Sache, d.h. die Rede, der Schall selbst eintritt . . ." 1).

But at the end of the same paragraph we read:

"Einen Unterschied in der Bedeutung zwischen φωνήν und φωνῆς, λόγων und λόγους ἀκ. durch die Übersetzung auszudrücken ist kaum möglich, da beide Ausdrucke neben einander gebraucht werden, z.B. Jo. v 25, 28, 37; Act. ix 4, 7; Apoc. xiv 2, 13 al., und es ist daher für den Sinn vollkommen gleichgültig, ob Mc. xiv 64 ἠκούσατε τὴν βλασφημίαν (L.T.) oder τῆς βλασφημίας (T), Jo. vii 40 ἀκ. τῶν λόγων (L.T.) oder τὸν λόγον (Grsb.) gelesen wird, nur ist der Genitiv als Causalcasus energischer als der Objektsakkusativ."

Blass in his grammar states that in general, the verb ἀκούειν follows the classical usage of *accusativus rei and genitivus personae*, but he exempts the expression "to hear a sound" from this basic rule:

"Es bleibt aber für Gen. und Akk. ein mittleres Gebiet. 'Einen Laut hören' ist klassisch ἀκούειν φωνῆς, βοῆς usw.; im NT aber kommt sowohl vor φωνῆς wie φωνήν, bei Joh. ersteres im Sinne des Gehorchens (v 25, 28; x 3, 16 u.s.), letzteres von der Wahrnehmung (iii 8; v 37), in den Act. und d. Apok. im letzteren Sinne beides durcheinander . . . "2).

The same position is taken by C. F. D. Moule, who cannot "find a satisfactory distinction in meaning between the Gen. and Acc. in Acts ix 7 and xxii 9" 3).

Debrunner in his revision of Blass's grammar kept the original author's position concerning the usage of the verb ἀκούειν in

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1) Buttmann A.: *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachgebrauchs*, Berlin (Dümmler), 1859, pp. 144 f.

2) Blass F.: *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, Göttingen (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), 1896, pp. 101-2.

3) Moule C. F. D.: *Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek*, Cambridge (University Press), 1953, p. 36.

general, and of the N.T. usage of the expression 'to hear a voice' in particular [1]).

The most detailed treatment of the problem to date was given by W. H. SIMCOX, who, too, comes to the conclusion that "in the N.T. the two cases seem to be used indifferently as regards the sense [2]).

A. T. ROBERTSON has a short reference to it in his large grammar but dismisses it with the remark that Simcox "seems to miss the point after all. They heard the sound but not the words" [3]).

II

The term "classical Greek" can be interpreted in two ways. When used within the framework of history of literature, it generally designates those authors who wrote "great books" in Greek, including "Homer", the great tragedians, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the great historians Herodotus and Thucydides, and the great philosophers Plato and Aristotle. When used as a linguistic term, it designates the Attic dialect as used by Plato, Aristotle, Thucydides. In this sense it is usually contrasted to the other forms of the Greek language, from Homer's epic dialect to the Koine of the Hellenistic Age, and was the model of the Atticistic School, which included such names as Lucian of Samosate. It finally became the "Greek" of the high schools and colleges and the basis of all the "rules" and "exceptions" of the school grammarians. For them, Greek was a static language capable of being fixed into a grammatical strait-jacket. Everything which refused to fit was written off as "non-classical".

There is no doubt that the authors who used the Attic dialect wrote in a style which shows definite patterns of usage; and it is one of the charms of the Greek language that it is able to express subtle differences in meaning through minute grammatical changes. But it is wrong to make eternal laws out of patterns of usage. Any close study of the "classical" authors will show that they refuse to obey "rules" which were actually unknown to them.

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[1]) BLASS F. & DEBRUNNER A.: *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* [8], Göttingen (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), 1949, p. 82, sect. 173. 1,2.

[2]) SIMCOX W. H.: *The Language of the New Testament* [2], New York (Whittacker), n.d., p. 90.

[3]) *op. cit.*, 506, n. 3.

The Greek language is a living organism, and the changes which took place during its long history began already in classical times. One of the most important developments is the ascendency of the accusative over the genitive: "Whenever in A [Ancient Greek] the accusative chanced to be more or less equivalent to either or both of the other oblique cases, it gradually gained ascendency over them and ultimately succeeded in dislodging them from common speech" [1]. This process, as remarked, is a gradual one, and there is necessarily a period when both constructions are found together, as is evidently the case in the N.T. writings [2].

Concerning the usage of the verb ἀκούειν, we can recognize the following system:

ἀκούειν with gen. & part. means: 'hear with my own ears, 'listen';
,, with acc. & part. means: 'hear as a fact' (ὅτι);
,, with acc. & inf. means: 'hear indirectly', 'understand'[3].

The use of the genitive in connection with verbs denoting an action of the senses in described by grammarians as ablatival genitive of separation [4]. This genitive is commonly used to represent the act of hearing as a process affecting the subjective consciousness, while the accusative serves to denote a discovery of an external fact:

Sophocles: *Electra* 79: ὑποστενούσης ἔνδον αἰσθέσθαι, τέκνον.
Sophocles: *Philoctetes* 445: οὐκ εἶδον αὐτόν.

However, this distinction was not strictly maintained, as can be seen from a passage like ἀκούσαντες τῆς σάλπιγγος [5].

It is noteworthy that even such a generally observed pattern as the usage of the accusative with neuters is neglected by Herodotus, who has ἀκούσας ταῦτα II 115, ἤκουσαν ταῦτα III 128, but frequently also τούτων (so I 45, 141. II 114. III 128) [6].

There are some instances in which the ablatival genitive of the thing is used in expressions where ἀκούειν means 'to listen to, pay attention to'. Here the thing is thought of as a person, and in these cases the genitive cannot be substituted by the accusative [1]. Some examples are:

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[1] Jannaris A. N.: *A Historical Greek Grammar*, London (Macmillan), 1897, p. 325.

[2] Radermacher L.: *Neutestamentliche Grammatik* (*Handbuch zum Neuen Testament* I), Tübingen (Mohr), 1925, pp. 125 f.

[3] Jannaris: *op. cit.*, p. 497.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 338.

[5] Xenophon: *Anabasis IV*. 2, 8.

[6] Schwyzer Ed. & Debrunner A.: *Griechische Grammatik* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, II. 1. 2.), München (Becker), 1950, vol. II., p. 107.

οἵ ἐθεν ὀτρύνοντος ἀκούσονταν καὶ ἀνάγκῃ ("who obey his urging by necessity") [2];

Σμέρδις τοῦ Κύρου ἀκουστέα, . . . Καμβύσεω ("Smerdis the son of Cyrus had to be obeyed, and not Cambyses") [3];

ἀκούεις μύθων ἡμετέρων ("pay attention to our words") [4].

III

One of the basic characteristics of the later forms of the Greek language is the progressive simplification of its grammatical structure, resulting in a reduction in the number of forms and a growing disregard for subtleties of syntactical details which were so common in writers of the so-called classical school. The writings of the N.T. belong to this later period and show many of these characteristics. In the following paragraphs, we shall consider the usage of ἀκούειν in the writings of an author who can be said to belong to the same period in which the N.T. was composed. Epictetus was born around the year A.D. 60. Besides the fact that he is an author of the same general period, he is also especially useful for a comparison due to the general contents of his writings, which obliged him to use the same kind of language as that used by N. T. authors.

For this purpose the writer tried to tabulate the different ways in which Epictetus used the verb ἀκούειν, and these tabulations were compared with similar ones made for the LXX and the N.T. Unfortunately, a complete and reliable concordance to the writings of Epictetus is not yet available; for that reason the writer had to be content with the *index verborum* found in Schenkl's edition [5].

It is possible to assign each occurrence of the verb ἀκούειν in the works of Epictetus (as far as they are indexed by Schenkl) to one of the following categories:

1) accusative of thing	26	(ἀ. λόγους 3; ἀ. φωνήν 1)
2) genitive of thing	8	(ἀ. λόγων 5; ἀ. φωνῆς —)

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 95.

[2] *Iliad* XV. 199

[3] Herodotus: *The Persian Wars*, III. 61.

[4] *Odyssey*, XXI. 290 f.

[5] Schenkl H.: *Epicteti Dissertationes ab Arriano digestae ad fidem Codicis Bodleiani*, Leipzig (Teubner), 1894.

3) genitive of person	19
4) accusative of person	2
5) other	74

For the purposes of the present study the following data are of particular interest:

1) The accusative of the thing occurs 3.25 times more frequently than the genitive of the thing, indicating a strong preponderance of the "classical" pattern of usage;

2) while the expression ἀκούειν φωνήν appears once, its genitive version is absent; we therefore have no means to compare the meaning of these different forms. But a similar pattern exists in the usage of ἀκούειν λόγους and λόγων. If the rule that "the accusative accents the intellectual apprehension of the sound, while the genitive calls attention to the voice without accenting the sense" 1), is true, we should expect it also to apply to the expression ἀκούειν λόγους, if we simply substitute "words" for "voice" in its formulation.

We have the following instances of ἀκούειν λόγου or λόγων:

II.xv 1. — ὅταν ἀκούσωσί τινες τούτων τῶν λόγων, ὅτι βέβαιον εἶναν δεῖ καὶ ἡ μὲν προαίρεσις ἐλεύθερον φύσει καὶ ἀναγκαστον.
("Some men, when they hear the following precepts: That one ought to be steadfast, and that the moral purpose is naturally free and not subject to compulsion, . . .") 2);

II.xx 34. — μήτι νέος εὐγενὴς αὐκούσας τῶν λόγων τούτων πάθῃ τι ὑπ' αὐτῶν κτλ.
("I greatly fear that a noble-spirited young man may hear these statements and be influenced by them . . .");

III.i 36. — ἀλλ' ἅπαξ ἀκούσας τῶν λόγων τούτων ἀπελθῶν σαυτῷ εἰπέ κτλ.
("But once you have heard these words go away and say to yourself . . .");

III.ii 3. — οὗτός ἐστιν . . . ὁ φθονερούς, ὁ ζηλοτύπους ποιῶν, δι' ὧν οὐκ ἀκοῦσαι λόγου δυνάμεθα.

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1) ROBERTSON: *Grammar*, p. 506.

2) To guarantee an unbiased rendering, the translations of the Epictetus passages are taken from OLDFATHER W. A.: *Epictetus*, 2 vols., London (Heinemann), 1926 (*Loeb Classical Library*).

("This is the field of study which . . . makes us envious and jealous—passions which make it impossible for us even to listen to reason.");

IV.v 21. — οὗτος οὐκ ἀκούει λόγου, οὐ παρακολουθεῖ ἐλεγχόμενος ὄνος ἐστίν.
("Here is a man who does not listen to reason, he does not understand when he is confuted; he is an ass.").

In all five of the preceding passages, the verb ἀκούειν is definitely used in the sense of "intellectual understanding"—and yet in all five instances we find the genitive, and not the accusative, as the "rule" would make us expect. How strong the intellectual aspect of the passages was felt by Professor Oldfather, can be seen from the fact that in two cases he translated λόγος with "reason". And the passage in Book IV is not only clear but rather emphatic on the point: even an ass has the physiological apparatus necessary to receive the "sound" of a voice—it is the "intellectual apprehension of the sound" which it so steadfastly refuses.

It remains to examine the three cases in which Epictetus uses the expression ἀκούειν λόγους:

I.xxx 7 — τούτων ἕνεκα τοὺς πολλοὺς λόγους ἤκουον;
(„Was it for all this that I listened to those long discourses?");

II.xxiii 1 — οὐκοῦν καὶ λόγους πᾶς ἄντις ῥᾷον ἀκούσειε τοὺ εὐσχήμοσιν ἅμα καὶ εὐπρεπέσιν ὀνόμασι σεσημασμένους
("Therefore everyone would also listen with greater eas to those discourses that are expressed in appropriate an attractive language.");

IV.i 143 — εἰ μέμνηται τοῦ ὀνόματος αὑτοῦ, τῶν λόγων οὓ ἀκούει, ἢ λέγει, ἢ ἀναγιγνώσκει.
("Whether he remembers his own name, or the argument that he hears, or repeats, or reads.").

Again, Epictetus uses the verb in the sense of "intellectual under standing", although in these instances he connects it with an accu sative. In the last example it is probable that the accusative i influenced by the other two verbs. But it seems safe to conclud that Epictetus uses the expressions ἀκούειν λόγους and λόγω without any difference in meaning.

Finally, there remains the single occurrence of the term ἀ. φωνή

II.i 36 — μηδὲ φωνήν τις ἀκούσῃ σου περὶ αὐτῶν ποτε μηδ, ἂν ἐπαινέσῃ τις ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ἀνέχου, δόξον δὲ μηδεὶς εἶναι καὶ εἰδέναι μηδέν.
("neither let anyone ever hear a word from you about them, nor, if anyone praises you for them, do you tolerate it, but let yourself be accounted a no-body and a know-nothing.")

The context indicates that here again more is meant than a mere sense perception, since φωνή is used more with the meaning of "opinion" than "voice" as an acoustical phenomenon.

3) Epictetus has two passages with the accusative of the person, although both instances seem to be different from the use of the accusative in Eph. iv 21.

IV.vii 21 — ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν ἀκούσω τινὰ μακαριζόμενον κτλ.
("But when I hear someone called blessed . . .")
III.iii 14 — ὃν ἂν ἴδῃς, ὃν ἂν ἀκούσῃς.
("Whom you see, whom you hear.").

The first could be explained by considering the ἀκούειν not as a process of direct sense perception, but as a procedure of "hearsay": this usually takes the accusative of the participle instead of the genitive 1)). In the second passage the accusative can be explained by attraction with the construction of the first part of the clause.

One interesting use of the genitive occurs in IV. xiii 15: αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν σὲ παρακαλῶ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν ἐμῶν. The possessive pronoun refers to "affairs" and is neuter. We should expect the accusative, but, like Herodotus in similar cases, Epictetus is not bound to any rigid rule and employs the genitive.

It is not necessary for the purpose of the present study to examine all the other constructions of the verb to be found in Epictetus. We have discussed those which are of importance for our problem and can formulate the conclusion: all the passages cited give ἀκούειν with the meaning of "intellectual understanding," and yet both genitive and accusative constructions are found. There seems to be no trace of any rule which would demand a distinction of cases.

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1) MAYSER E.: *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, Berlin & Leipzig (Walter de Gruyter), 1926, vol. II., p. 311.

IV

It might be considered fruitless to study the grammatical usage of the LXX as if it were a unit, since the work of the translators stretched over a considerable period of time and, furthermore, is of very different quality. But the language of the LXX is of special importance for the present study, and therefore we present the data immediately before those of the N.T., and not before those of Epictetus, where they should have been placed on chronological grounds. But the fact that here we have a religious book, which to a large extent served as a source for the N.T. writers—and our phrase "to hear a voice" is a typical LXX expression—was deemed reason enough to disregard chronological considerations.

In studying the LXX material, the writer attempted to find answers to the question: do any of the LXX translators or authors adhere to a strict rule in the use of the verb ἀκούειν?

In the following survey the books of the O.T. and the Apocrypha are arranged in groups according to the system given by Thackeray[1]).

	Acc. rei (φωνήν)	Gen. rei (φωνῆς)	Gen. pers.	Other	Total
I. Translations					
Good Koine	105 (16)	48 (24)	34	132	319
Indifferent	140 (19)	62 (39)	41	138	381
Literal	70 (11)	36 (28)	21	76	203
II. Paraphrases and free renderings					
Literary	36 (8)	14 (6)	24	23	97
III. Free Greek					
Literary	11 (1)	2 (—)	—	13	26
Vernacular	12 (—)	— —	3	2	17 [2])

With the survey given above, we shall now try to answer the question which we put before.

In view of the great mass of material a complete study of every single instance is very difficult and hardly necessary. It will suffice for the purpose of this study to check a certain number of passages, if care is taken that the quotations chosen are representative for the general usage.

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[1]) Thackeray H. St. J.: *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, Cambridge (University Press), 1909, vol. I., pp. 13 f.

[2]) These tables are based on Hatch E. & Redpath H. A.: *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament*, Oxford (Clarendon), 1892.

There are slight variations in the usage of the genitive and accusative in different manuscripts. In Genesis, for example, *Codex Alexandrinus* twice substitutes φωνήν for φωνῆς:

Ge.iii 8 — καὶ ἤκουσαν τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ κυρίου περιπατοῦντος ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τὸ δειλινόν, καὶ ἐκρύβησαν ὅ τε Αδαμ ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου κτλ.
("And they heard the sound of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day, and Adam . . . hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God...");
Ge.iii 10 — τὴν φωνήν σου ἤκουσα περιπατοῦντος ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ κτλ.
("I heard thy voice in the garden . . .").

As the translation already indicates, what we have here is not an "intellectual understanding" but a pure sense perception. The word φωνή is a literal rendering of the Hebrew *qôl*, which the original text has in both verses. The genitive of the Sixtine Edition of 1587 is probably an attempt to comply with the general pattern. But Rahlfs in his hand-edition of the LXX 1) rightly restored the reading of *Codex Alexandrinus*.

However, Genesis has a passage where the accusative is used in the sense of indicating an intellectual process:

xi 7 — δεῦτε, καὶ καταβάντες συγχέωμεν ἐκεῖ αὐτῶν τὴν γλῶσσαν, ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσωσιν ἕκαστος τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ πλησίου.
("Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech.")

How closely genitive and accusative are sometimes used side by side in the same context, can be seen from the following two passages:

Dt. iv 1 — ἄκουε τῶν δικαιωμάτων καὶ τῶν κριμάτων . . . ἵνα ζῆτε κτλ.
(". . . hearken, . . . unto the statutes and unto the judgments, . . . that ye may live,"),

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1) Rahlfs A.: *Septuaginta*^{5}, 2 vols., Stuttgart (Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt), 1952.

Dt. iv 6 — ἐὰν ἀκούσωσιν πάντα τὰ δικαιώματα ταῦτα καὶ ἐροῦσιν· Ἰδοῦ λαὸς σοφὸς . . . τὸ ἔθνος τὸ μέγα τοῦτο.
("... which shall hear all these statutes, say, Surely this great nation is a wise . . . people.")

In both instances an intellectual comprehension is understood, since in both cases an intellectual consequence is described.

A very similar case is found in IV Kingdoms:

xxii 11 — καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ νόμου, καὶ διέρρηξεν τὰ ἱμάτια ἑαυτοῦ.
("... when the king had heard the words of the book of the law, . . . he rent his clothes.")

xxii 13 — οὐκ ἤκουσαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν τῶν λόγων τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου κτλ.
("... our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this book . . .").

Even though verse 11 implies an actual hearing, the reaction of the king proves how strong an impact the words had made upon his mind.

Exactly the same meaning is implied in the following two verses, which show a difference in case:

II Chr. ix 7 — μακάριοι οἱ ἄνδρες . . . οὗτοι οἱ . . . ἀκούουσιν σοφίαν σου.
("Happy are thy men, . . . which . . . hear thy wisdom.")

ix 23 — καὶ πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς ἐζήτουν τὸν πρόσωπον Σαλωμων ἀκοῦσαι τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ κτλ.
("And all the kings of the earth sought the presence of Solomon, to hear his wisdom, . . .").

Among the books classified by THACKERAY as of "indifferent Greek" is I Kingdoms. The usage of the verb ἀκούειν seems to support this view:

I K ii 25 — οὐκ ἤκουσαν τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν, ὅτι βουλόμενος ἐβούλετο κύριος διαφθεῖραι αὐτούς.
("... they hearkened not unto the voice of their father, because the Lord would slay them.")

vi 14 — καὶ ἤκουσαν Ηλι τὴν φωνὴν τῆς βοῆς κτλ.
("... when Eli heard the noise of the crying . . .").

In the examples given above we had the same meaning expressed hrough different cases. How far the disregard for "rules" can go, s shown by this pair of verses: here we have a difference of meaning and a difference of cases—but the accusative stands where we hould expect the genitive, and *vice versa*.

The following table shows the relation of the meaning in the different cases:

	φωνήν		φωνῆς	
	Intell.	Sense	Intell.	Sense
I. Good *Koine*-Greek	9	7	21	3
II. Indifferent Greek	5	14	37	2
III. Literal or unintelligent versions	5	6	25	3
IV. Literary Paraphrases or free renderings	8	—	1	5
V. Literary free Greek	1	—	—	—
VI. Vernacular	—	—	—	—

Although there might be a different interpretation of some passages, the pattern becomes clear: the accusative is used quite frequently to denote nothing more than a "hearing without accenting the intellectual process", while the genitive frequently does just that. In the majority of cases where the genitive is used the meaning implied is "to obey" (i.e. the law of God, described as his "voice").

There are three passages in the LXX which bear very close resemblance to the verses in Acts under discussion, and we shall make reference to them when we speak about that book.

V

The N.T., just like the Greek version of the O.T., uses the verb ἀκούειν frequently and in many different contexts. Consequently, the dictionary of the N.T. lists no less than eighteen different ways in which the verb is used [1]), most of which correspond to the uses in the LXX and other Greek writings.

Again, we shall concentrate our attention on the use of the genitive and the accusative, especially in the expression "to hear a voice".

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[1]) BAUER W.: *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur* ⁴, Berlin (Töpelmann), 1952, cols. 57-60.

The Synoptic gospels give us an opportunity to check the verb in parallel passages and see whether any of the occurrences are different in one of the three gospels.

The following list gives the number of occurrences of ἀκούειν which are found in either or both the other gospels, but not in the one listed:

Matthew	1
Mark	4
Luke	9

Only one passage is common to all three Synoptics, and this a quotation from the LXX; although differing in some other details, all three books agree on the phrase ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ 1).

In Mark ἀκούειν occurs four times with the genitive 2). Luke has none of these passages, but in Matthew they appear in the following constructions:

accusative	2
absolute	1
ὅτι	1

The N.T. contains only one construction which can be considered accusative of the person: Eph. iv 21. However, it seems that αὐτόν refers to the message of the teacher rather than to his person, although the personal pronoun is retained: ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἐμάθετε τὸν χριστόν, εἴ γε αὐ τὸν ἠκούσατε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐδιδάχθητε κτλ.

It is highly improbable that anyone of the persons to whom this letter was addressed would have heard Christ in person; the R.S.V. consequently says "you have heard about him" 2).

Our expression "to hear a voice" appears in the N.T. as indicated in the following table:

"To hear a voice"

REF.	Genitive	Accusative (Rel. Pron).	Total
Matthew	—	1	1
Mark	—	—	—
Luke	—	—	—
John	6	1	7

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1) Mt. xvii 5; Mk. ix 7; Lu. ix 35; cf. Dt. xviii 15.

2) vi 11; vii 14; xii 28; xiv 64.

3) cf. Simcox, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

Acts	3	4	7
Corpus Paulinum	—	—	—
Pastorals	—	—	—
Hebrews	3	—	3
James	—	—	—
Catholics	—	1	1
I-III John	—	—	—
Revelation	5	14 (3)	19
Total	16	21	38 [1]

The books which use the expression most frequently are the Fourth Gospel and Revelation. But while the Fourth Gospel employs the genitive six times more frequently than the accusative, in Revelation it is less than half as frequently employed as the objective case. The gospel of Luke does not contain the expression while Acts has it three times with the genitive [2], four times with the accusative [3].

On the preceding pages we have given numerous instances in which the accusative or genitive is used with ἀκούειν, without any discernable distinction in meaning. It will be the final task of this study to see whether such a difference of meaning is to be found in the passages in Acts.

ix 7 — οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οἱ συνοδεύοντες αὐτῷ εἱστήκεισαν ἐνεοί, ἀκούοντες μὲν τῆς φωνῆς, μηδένα δὲ θεωροῦντες.

According to Winer, Moulton, and Robertson the genitive expresses here a hearing with the ears, without accenting an intellectual process. The pronoun, of course, is personal and does not exclude that the men "saw the light" in xxii 9.

xi 7 — ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ φωνῆς λεγούσης μοι· ἀναστάς, Πέτρε, θῦσον καὶ φάγε.

xxii 7 — ἔπεσά τε εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῆς λεγούσης μοι·

We have the accusative in:

ix 4 — καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἤκουσεν φωνὴν λέγουσαν αὐτῷ·

xxii 9 — οἱ δὲ σὺν ἐμοὶ ὄντες τὸ μὲν φῶς ἐθεάσαντο, τὴν δὲ φωνὴν οὐκ ἤκουσαν τοῦ λαλοῦντός μοι.

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[1] Based on Moulton W. F. & Geden A. S.: *A Concordance to the Greek Testament* ³, Edinburgh (Clark), 1953.

[2] ix 7; xi 7; xxii 7.

[3] ix 4; xxii 9, 14; xxvi 14.

xxii 14 — ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν προεχειρίσατό σε γνῶναι τὸ θέλεμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδεῖν τὸν δίκαιον καὶ ἀκοῦσαι φωνήν κτλ.
xxvi 14 — πάντων τε καταπεσόντων ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν γὴν ἤκουσα φωνὴν λέγουσαν πρός με τῇ Ἑβραίδι διαλέκτῳ·

From among these passages we can extract two sets of parallels.

1) ix 7; xxii 9;
2) ix 4; xi 7; xxvi 14; to which could also be added xxii 14.

In the second group we have always an individual, once Peter, the other times Paul, hear a voice, saying definite things to the hearer: an intellectual process is definitely required, since these moments of hearing are decisive ones in the lives of the two men. And yet again we have a difference in the cases employed, even in the two parallels in which Paul is made to report his conversion, using the words in the same context—except that the case changes: xxii 7 has the genitive, xxvi 14 the accusative.

For the first group of parallels it is possible to quote some further parallels from the LXX:

Wisd. xviii 1 — τοῖς δὲ ὁσίοις σου μέγιστον ἦν φῶς·
ὧν φωνὴν μὲν ἀκούοντες μορφὴν δὲ οὐχ ὁρῶντες κτλ.
Dt. iv 12 — καὶ ἐλάλησεν κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐκ μέσου τοῦ πυρός· φωνὴν ῥημάτων ὑμεῖς ἠκούσατε καὶ ὁμοίωμα οὐκ εἴδετε.

Both of these instances use the accusative, as does Acts xxii 9. But while in xxii 9 it is said that they did not hear the voice, or, as some commentators prefer to put it, did not understand the meaning of what the voice was saying, in our LXX passages just the opposite is the case: their construction parallels Acts xxii 9, their meaning is the same as in Acts ix 7, where the genitive is used.

Under these circumstances to insist upon a difference of meaning in Acts ix 7 and xxii 9 seems, to the present writer at least, impossible. But even if there were such a difference, or even if one were willing to force the language into such a strait-jacket as to put a difference of meaning into it, would the harmony of the parallels be saved?

The parallel accounts of Paul's conversion contain several inconsistencies, two of which are without any significance (including the one discussed above) and one of great importance for the understanding of Paul.

In Acts ix 4 and xxii 7 it is said that Paul fell to the ground, while the other men remained standing, but in xxvi 14 it is expressly stated that they all fell to the ground.

In xxvi 16 f. Paul receives his apostleship directly from Christ, while in ix 6 and xxii 10 he is told to go to Damascus, where he was to receive further instructions, in contrast to Gal i.12 where Paul stresses the fact that he had been appointed an apostle "not through man, but through a revelation of Jesus Christ." It is this latter inconsistency in the narratives which causes serious difficulties. It cannot be explained away through any twist of grammatical rules.

MIT FURCHT UND ZITTERN

ZUM VERSTÄNDNIS VON PHILIP. II 12

VON

OTTO GLOMBITZA
Friedrichroda, Thür. Wald.

Philp. ii 12 wird immer so übersetzt [1], dass von einem Schaffen der Seligkeit mit Furcht und Zittern die Rede ist. Dabei werden sich die Übersetzer gewiss nicht der Frage entziehen können, ob mit dieser Übersetzung sowohl der Wortlaut selbst wie auch der Inhalt dieser Aussage wirklich getroffen sind. Darum hat auch Ernst Lohmeyer die Schwierigkeiten richtig gekennzeichnet [2], wenn er erklärt: ,,Die Negation μή kann nicht mit einem Indikativ, sondern nur mit dem Imperativ 'wirket' verbunden werden" und zuvor in einer Anmerkung schreibt: ,,ὡς wird ausgelassen von . . . Da seine Auslassung den Gedankengang erleichtert, wird seine Setzung ursprünglich sein".

Es wird also gut sein, diesem Verse in allen seinen Einzelheiten nachzugehen und die gängigen Erklärungsversuche darüber zu befragen, ob sie hier wirklich gelten können.

καθὼς wird nicht von einem korrespondierenden οὕτως gefolgt und muss daher mit ,,Da ja" übersetzt werden [3]. Der Apostel kann auf den bewährten Gehorsam seiner Gemeinde hinweisen und daher ihres Gehorsams auch in der gegenwärtigen Frage gewiss sein.

μή kann, wie Ernst Lohmeyer richtig bemerkte, nur mit dem Imperativ verbunden werden, und das heisst in diesem Verse mit κατεργάζεσθε. Von dieser grammatischen Forderung kann unter keinen Umständen abgewichen werden. Μή kann also nicht in der allgemein üblichen Weise mit μόνον verbunden werden. R. A. Lipsius [1]) verwies auf Gal. iv 18 und meinte, dass auch im vorliegenden Verse μή mit μόνον verbunden werden müsste. Dem scheint entgegenzukommen, dass auch in Gal. iv 18 [2]) von der Anwesenheit des Apostels die Rede ist. Dem steht aber entgegen, dass im vorliegenden Verse diese beiden Worte nicht wie in Gal. iv 18 miteinander verbunden, sondern durch mehrere Worte getrennt auftreten, die zudem mit ὡς eingeleitet werden und so einen in sich geschlossenen Gedanken aussprechen. Dazu ist nochmals auf E. Lohmeyer Bemerkung zu verweisen, dass die Ursprünglichkeit der Setzung anzunehmen ist, da die Auslassung den Gedankengang erleichterte.

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[1] Lutherbibel: Schaffet, dass ihr selig werdet, mit Furcht und Zittern. Menge: Suchet noch viel mehr eure Rettung mit Furcht und Zittern zu schaffen. Zürcher Bibel: Mühet euch um euer Heil mit Furcht und Zittern Lohmeyer: Mit Furcht und Zittern wirket euer eigen Heil. Heinzelmann Mit Furcht und Zittern schaffet euer Heil. Der Englische Text ebenso Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling.

[2] Ernst Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Philipper*, Göttingen, 1953^{9} P. 99 A 1 und Seite 100, Zeile 4 unten.

[3] Walter Bauer, *Griech.-Dtsch. Wörterbuch*, Bln. 1937^{3}, Sp. 650 f

Zu dieser Einschaltung mit ὡς selbst ist zu bemerken: Offenbar sind einander gegenübergestellt παρουσίᾳ und ἀπουσίᾳ, und zwar nicht im Sinne eines Gegensatzes, sondern zur Erläuterung für πάντοτε, sodass zu verstehen ist: Wie in meiner Anwesenheit nur, sondern jetzt viel mehr in meiner Abwesenheit —hier ist zu ergänzen: seid ihr gehorsam. Dabei ist bereits auf den Inhalt des Gehorsams Bezug genommen, und zwar negativ mit dem Imperativ μή . . . κατεργάζεσθε; positiv wird sein Inhalt erst im weiteren Verlauf dieses Abschnittes und aus seinem Zusammenhang mit der Christus-Hymne deutlich.

Μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου soll nach Martin Dibelius [3]) ,,offenbar bei Paulus 'feste' Wendung zur Bezeichnung der Demut sein". Zum Beweis wird auf 2 Kor. vii 15 und 1 Kor. ii 3 verwiesen.

Im zweiten Korintherbriefe ist von der in dieser Weise geschehenen Aufnahme des Titus die Rede. Aus dem Zusammenhange wird deutlich, dass Spannungen zwischen der Gemeinde und dem Apostel einerseits und Unterschiede in der Beurteilung der Gemeinde zwischen Paulus und Titus andererseits [4]) bestanden haben. Die Korinther haben die energischen Vorstellungen des Apostels respektiert und Titus als seinen Boten μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου angenommen; es kann keine Rede davon sein, dass es sich um ein Verhalten vor Gott handelt. Im ersten Korintherbriefe spricht der Apostel ii 3 von seiner eigenen apostolischen Arbeit ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ καὶ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἐν τρόμῳ πολλῷ, also auch nicht von einem Verhalten der Gemeinde vor Gott. Wie er diese Worte verstanden wissen will, zeigt er unmissverständlich deutlich in der Fortzetzung: ἐν ὑποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως ἵνα ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν μὴ ᾖ ἐν σοφίᾳ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ. Man wird festzuhalten haben, dass Paulus nicht von einem Verhalten der Gemeinde vor Gott redet. Nun könnte diese Wendung aber an dieser Stelle von der Demut des Apostels selbst benutzt sein. Beachtet man aber die Gegenüberstellung der beiden Satzteile, dann wird man nicht an Schwäche, Furcht und Zittern des Apostels vor Gott zu denken haben, sondern daran, dass der Apostel diese wie jede Gemeinde nur mit grossen Bedenken betritt. Welcher Art diese Bedenken sein mögen, ist vielleicht aus dem Corpus Paulinum im ganzen zu schliessen; ich würde annehmen, dass es sich um die Bangigkeit des Mannes handelt, der ein Feind der Christenheit gewesen war. Mit Recht schwächt dieser Vorwurf den Apostel; mit Recht fürchtet er sich und zittert vor dieser Anklage [1]). Diese Wendung bezeichnet also nicht die Demut der Gemeinde oder des Apostels vor Gott. Das wird ganz deutlich, wenn man Eph. vi 5 heranzieht, wo die Sklaven vermahnt werden ὑπακούετε τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα κυρίοις μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ἐν ἁπλότητι τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν ὡς τῷ Χριστῷ. Furcht und Zittern gehört den Herren in dieser Welt zu; aber die Einfalt der Christenherzen, die keine Zweigleisigkeit zulässt, erkennt auch hinter den irdischen Herren den fragenden Christus.

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[1]) R. A. Lipsius, *Handkommentar zum NT*, Freiburg 1892, P 229: ὡς bezeichnet ein subjektives Motiv, von welchem die Philipper sich nicht bestimmen lassen sollen. μὴ μόνον ähnlich wie Gal. iv 18.

[2]) καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐν τῷ παρεῖναί με πρὸς ὑμᾶς, der Text scheint nicht in Ordnung zu sein, eine Reihe von Texten lesen einen Imperativ.

[3]) Martin Dibelius, *Handbuch zum NT*, Tübingen 1911, Seite 55 unten.

[4]) Vergl. bes. v. 14.

Nun hat E. Lohmeyer [2]) eine Reihe von Stellen angeführt, in denen diese Worte zusammen benutzt werden; aus allen diesen Stellen geht hervor, dass es sich um das Verhalten vor Menschen als Leistung für sie oder von Menschen, die Israels Feinde sind, als Wirkung Gottes handelt: Ex. xv 16, Dt. ii 25, xi 25, Jud. ii 28, xv 2, LXX Ps. liv 6, Jes. xix 16 und 4, Makk. iv 10. Keine dieser Stellen redet von dem Verhalten der Bundesgemeinde vor ihrem Bundesherrn. Wenn auch Redewendungen ihres ursprünglichen Gebrauches entkleidet werden können und verändert gebraucht werden, so ist doch zunächst einmal mit Recht anzunehmen, dass der ursprüngliche Gebrauch gewahrt blieb. Das würde nun hier bedeuten, dass Paulus unmöglich fordern kann, dass seine Gemeinde ihre Seligkeit mit Furcht und Zittern schaffen soll. Die von E. LOHMEYER selbst angeführten Stellen reichen nicht aus, um seine Behauptung zu belegen, dass es sich um einen „Ausdruck sklavischer Unterwürfigkeit" handele, „die sich selbst völlig preisgibt und das Wesen und die Macht des Herrn ohne eigenen Vorbehalt bejaht. Gott ist der Herr; der Gläubige sein Sklave". [1]) Selbstverständlich wird nun nicht etwa behauptet, dass es diese Haltung nicht gäbe: „Gott ist der Herr; der Gläubige sein Sklave", aber an dieser Stelle gibt der Wortlaut diesen Inhalt nicht her.

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[1]) Vergl. des Verfassers, Gnade - das entscheidende Wort, *Nov. Test.*, II, Fasc. 3/4, 1958, S. 281 ff.

[2]) *a.a.O.*, P 102 A 1.

Demnach wäre zu übersetzen: Darum meine Geliebten, da ihr ja immer gehorsam wart, schaffet — wie in meiner Anwesenheit allein, sondern jetzt viel mehr in meiner Abwesenheit — nicht mit Furcht und Zittern eure Seligkeit. An diesen Satz schliesst sich reibungslos die Begründung an, die durchaus im Rahmen der paulinischen Predigt bleibt: Denn Gott ist es, der in euch wirkt das Wollen und das Vollbringen für das Wohlgefallen. Der zentrale Begriff der paulinischen Botschaft ist die überwältigende Gnade [2]), die aus dem alten Menschen mit Furcht und Zittern vor den Herren dieser Welt und den Menschen in dieser Welt mit allen ihren Urteilen [3]) den neuen Menschen macht, dessen Wollen und Vollbringen dem Willen Gottes [4]) ganz entspricht. Dieses dem Willen Gottes entsprechende Wollen und Vollbringen des neuen Menschen ist in Christus Jesus offenbar geworden als ein Gehorsam [5]), der vor der Erniedrigung μέχρι θανάτου nicht zurückschreckt, wobei ausdrücklich betont wird: θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ. Wenn es nun bei dieser Gemeinde παράκλησις ἐν Χριστῷ — messianische Auslegung des Alten Testamentes und christozentrische Predigt [6]) —, παραμύθιον ἀγάπης — tröstliche Liebe in der Mahlgemeinschaft 1) —, κοινωνία πνεύματος — Teilhabe am göttlichen Geiste, dem neuen Denken 2) — und so weiter 3) gibt, dann kann eben daraus nur gefolgert werden: Leben und Handeln in rettender, vergebender, tragender und bewahrender Liebe. Dies ist die göttliche εὐδοκία 4). War der Inhalt des Gehorsams der Gemeinde negativ beschrieben worden: Nicht mit Furcht und Zittern schaffet eure Seligkeit, so kann nun positiv gesagt werden: Das gefällt Gott, der das Wollen und das Vollbringen bei den Seinen wirkt, dass die im Wort liegende Antwort aufgenommen gegeben wird. Daher fährt Paulus auch fort: πάντα ποιεῖτε χωρὶς γογγυσμῶν καὶ διαλογισμῶν 5), denn Murren und Bedenken, wie Lohmeyer übersetzt 6), gehören nun einmal zu den Kennzeichen des verirrten und verkehrten Geschlechtes 7),

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[1]) *a.a.O.*, P 102 unten Zeile 6. So ähnlich bereits J. A. BENGEL zu Stelle: Servi esse debetis, exemplo Christi, v. 8: servum autem decet timor et tremor Eph. vi 5 i.e. humilitas.

[2]) Siehe note 1 p. 102.

[3]) Röm. xiii 7.

[4]) 1 Kor. xii 6.

[5]) Vergl. den Christus-Hymnus. Die Paraenese nimmt ständig Bezug darauf. s. E. LOHMEYER zum Text.

[6]) παράκλησις meine — so *ThWB* V 793 — durch den Rückgriff auf das Heilsgeschehen nicht einen bloss moralischen Appell. Sollte die Benutzung des messianischen Titels und nicht des Namens Jesu vielleicht darauf hindeuten, dass an einen Terminus technikus für messianische Auslegung des AT zu denken ist? Dann wäre hier auf die das AT messianisch

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auslegende Predigt Bezug genommen. Vergl. des Verfassers, Akta XIII 15-41, Analyse einer lukanischen Predigt vor Juden, *New Testament Studies.*

1) *ThWB* V 819 denkt an „gütige, erquickende Rede". Sollte nicht vielleicht der Terminus technikus für die Mahlgemeinschaft benutzt sein und von dem in ihr liegenden Zuspruch geredet werden? Nimmt das erste Glied auf die Predigt Bezug, dann könnte immerhin an diese Deutung gedacht werden.

2) Nach W. Elert, *Abendmahl und Kirchengemeinschaft in der alten Kirche, hauptsächlich des Ostens*, Bln. 1954 kommt nur der Begriff der „Teilhabe" in Betracht, also Teilhabe am Geiste. Wenn die hier angedeuteten Interpretationen gelten dürfen, dann wäre das in der Gemeinde waltende neue Denken gemeint, in dem die im anredenden Wort angebotene Antwort aufgenommen und gegeben wird. Die Erörterungen über Gen. subj. oder obj. müssen ergebnislos bleiben, da es die moderne Scheidung von Subjekt und Objekt als nebeneinander bestehende, beziehungslose Individuen erst seit Deskartes gibt; vorher wird diese Scheidung als Folge der Sünde verstanden, die das in der Schöpfung gegebene Aufeinandergewiesensein und Aneinandergewiesenwerden stets behindert und bedroht, aber nicht aufhebt.

3) Nach E. Lohmeyer, *a.a.O.* S. 84, ist an eine Zusammenfassung der drei vorlaufenden Glieder gedacht; wie dem auch sei, gewiss dürfte auch hier nicht an ein von der Gemeinde geübtes, sondern ihr widerfahrendes Handeln gedacht sein. Der Zusammenhang legt nahe, an das gesamte als erbarmendes Handeln Gottes verstandene Christenleben zu denken.

4) Lohmeyer, *a.a.O.*, S. 104. Man könnte an dieser Stelle geradezu sagen: Das ist der göttliche Wille, der die im Wort liegende Antwort ergriffen und gegeben sehen will.

5) Zum Ganzen dürfen die alttestamentlichen Bezüge nicht übersehen werden. An die Stelle der Bundesgemeinde ist die Christusgemeinde getreten. Und wie jene nur aus denn stets neuen Ergreifen des Bundes lebte, so auch diese nur im stets neuen Aufnehmen der im Wort angebotenen Antwort.

6) *a.a.O.*, S. 99.

7) Deut. xxxii 5 in LXX.

in dessen Mitte die Gemeinde als τέκνα θεοῦ ἄμωμα lebt. Indem die Gemeinde nicht mit Murren und Bedenken, wie es die Art dieser Welt wäre, dem Worte antwortet, wird sie sichtbar, tritt sie in Erscheinung [1]) wie Sterne im Kosmos [2]). Tatsächlich scheint das der Gedankengang des Apostels zu sein, denn er sagt ausdrücklich: λόγον ζωῆς ἐπέχοντες. Das Wort wird das Wort des Lebens genannt, weil ja gerade das anredende Wort die Antwort enthält und darin das Leben des Antwortenden sichtbar macht. Darin ist Gott der ἐνέργων καὶ τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν, dass er im anredenden Wort die Antwort schenkt. Daher konnte der Apostel schreiben: Wenn es in dieser Gemeinde messianische Predigt, Zuspruch der Mahlgemeinschaft, Teilhabe am neuen Denken, erbarmendes Handeln Gottes [3]) gibt, dann kann daraus nur Leben und Handeln in rettender, vergebender,tragender und bewahrender Liebe folgen. Indem die Gemeinde das Wort des Lebens, das ihre Antwort enthaltende Wort festhält und ohne Murren und Bedenken Gott antwortet, gibt sie der Welt den entscheidenden Richtpunkt, nämlich den Blick auf den Wollen und Vollbringen wirkenden Gott in einem rechten Gehorsam, der ohne Furcht und Zittern dem Worte alles zutraut. Auf diesen Gehorsam – dies Hören auf das Wort – kommt es an. Wo immer in der Gemeinde dieser Gehorsam ist, dort ist er ein Zeichen dafür, dass die Arbeit ihres Gründers erfolgreich war [4]). Und wenn nun dieser Gründer der Gemeinde sein Leben verliert, als ein Trankopfer geopfert wird [5]), und zwar gerade um des aufopfernden Dienstes am Glauben der Gemeinde willen [6]), dann liegt kein Grund dafür vor, dass nun anzunehmen wäre: Furcht und Zittern, also eigene Anstrengungen gehörten zum Glauben. Der Apostel ruft vielmehr zur Freude [7]); denn dass er die Gewissheit haben darf, er werde im Martyrium durchhalten und nicht schwach werden, führt er nicht auf die eigene Stärke, sondern auf den alles wirkenden Gott zurück, der in der Schwachheit mächtig ist [8]).

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[1]) BAUER, *a.a.O.*, Sp. 1411: Zum Vorschein kommen, sichtbar werden.

[2]) BAUER, *a.a.O.*, Sp. 1444: Der Leuchtkörper, also nicht der Leuchter oder Lichtträger. Der Apostel will offenbar die Philipper besonders rühmen als unter den Gotteskindern besonders hervorgetretene, so wie die Sterne in der Dunkelheit hervortreten.

[3]) Philp. ii 1.

[4]) v 16 οὐκ εἰς κενόν.

[5]) σπένδομαι.

[6]) ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ λειτουργίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν.

[7]) χαίρω — συγχαίρω; χαίτερε — συγχαίρετε.

[8]) 2 Kor. xii 9.

Es zeigt sich also, dass mit der angebotenen Übersetzung, in der μή zum Imperativ κατεργάζεσθε gezogen wird, und in der der schwierigeren Lesart mit ὡς gefolgt wird, Inhalt und Wortlaut des Textes ohne Gewaltsamkeiten in Übereinstimmung mit der sonst bekannten Botschaft des Paulus bleiben.

ZUM GOTTESDIENSTLICHEN STIL DER JOHANNES-APOKALYPSE *)

VON

GERHARD DELLING

Lange Zeit ist das letzte Buch der Bibel immer wieder nach der Schau der Zukunft befragt worden, die sich in den Visionen und Auditionen des Apokalyptikers verbergen sollte — ohne dass man sich in einem Ergebnis geeinigt hätte. Noch immer spielt der Gegensatz zwischen zeitgeschichtlicher [1]) und endgeschichtlicher Interpretation eine Rolle; das Problem der scheinbaren oder tatsächlichen Wiederholung des Inhalts früherer Gesichte in späteren, die dann jene präzisierten, ist ebensowenig gelöst, wie etwa das Verhältnis zwischen Schau und literarischer Gestaltung geklärt ist. In den letzten Jahrzehnten hat man sich nun stärker den Stücken zugewandt, die eine nebensächliche Rolle im Ganzen zu spielen scheinen, aber doch zumindest für den Aufbau nicht unwichtig sein könnten: dem himmlischen Rahmen der Schauungen, die die kommenden irdischen oder jedenfalls offensichtlich die Menschheit betreffenden Ereignisse beschreiben. Tatsächlich handelt es sich ja auch bei jenen durchweg um Visionen und Auditionen, und in irgendeiner Weise stehen alle himmlischen Rahmengeschehnisse in Zusammenhang mit den anderen. Vielleicht könnte die Herausarbeitung ihres theologischen Gehaltes dazu beitragen, dass mit noch grösserem Nachdruck, als das bisher schon geschehen ist, exegetisch nach den theologischen Aussagen der geschichtsapokalyptischen Visionen gefragt würde, deren bizarre oder jedenfalls

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*) Abgekürzt zitierte Literatur ist S. 137 angegeben.

[1]) Neuerdings meint St. Giet, *L'Apocalypse et l'histoire* (Paris 1957), für Apc. viii 13-xi 19 einen engen Zusammenhang der Visionen mit dem zeitgenössischen Geschehen des Jüdischen Krieges nachweisen zu können; vgl. dazu N. Turner in *New Testament Studies* 4 (1958), 230 f. Dagegen betont Comblin 7 f., die Apc. sei nicht von der Absicht beherrscht, die Reihenfolge der eschatologischen Ereignisse zu geben, sondern wolle in Kap. iv-xx den Untergang der alten Welt (verstanden natürlich im Gegensatz zur neuen Welt Gottes) beschreiben.

zeitgebundene Formgebung den Interpreten leicht von diesem Letzten und Eigentlichen fernhält.

Die folgenden Ausführungen wollen jedoch auch hinsichtlich der Rahmenvisionen bzw. -auditionen im ganzen nicht mehr als einige formengeschichtliche Vorarbeit leisten [1]), die sich freilich für deren inhaltliches Verständnis als fruchtbar erweisen mag; sie betrifft ausserdem nur einen Ausschnitt aus ihnen: in der Hauptsache die Stücke des himmlischen Gottesdienstes, den der Apokalyptiker erlebt (ohne dass wir uns infolge ihres Zusammenhanges mit anderen Aussagen völlig auf sie beschränken können). Die Frage, ob sie so, wie sie dastehen, etwa durch den Verf. vom irdischen in den himmlischen Gottesdienst versetzt worden sind, soll dabei nicht im Vordergrund stehen; allerdings wird die Frage nach den Formen, die er verwendet, nicht von der nach den ihm aus seiner Umwelt bekannten zu lösen sein.

I. DOXOLOGIEN UND WÜRDIG-RUFE

Wir gehen von einem klar erkennbaren Tatbestand aus: Deutlich ist die Form der Doxologie vom Apokalyptiker zweimal in den himmlischen Gottesdienst übertragen. In den drei Doxologien der Apc. sind bestimmte Stilgesetze vollauf beachtet [2]): Sie nennen im Dativ den, dem der Lobpreis gilt (i 6; v 13 beginnen damit), und sagen diesen selbst mit Substantiven im Nominativ aus; sie schliessen mit einer solennen Ewigkeitsformel und werden durch Amen bestätigend aufgenommen. In v 14 geschieht das letzte korrekt durch andere als die Sprecher der Doxologie (ein bestätigendes Amen wird noch xix 4 laut, aber nicht am Ende einer Doxologie). Die Ewigkeitsformel ist die gleiche wie in anderen Zusammenhängen der Apc.; über sie wird später noch zu reden sein. Der Nominativ δόξα bezieht sich auf den Lobpreis Gottes in Apc. nur noch xix 1, der Akkusativ in lobpreisenden Stücken nur xix 7 und iv 11; v 12, also im Kontext von Halleluja-Rufen bzw. in Würdig-Akklamationen, in Stücken, die offenbar einen anderen formalen Charakter haben als die Doxologien (i 6; v 13; vii 12) und deshalb weder mit der Ewigkeitsformel schliessen noch mit Amen aufgenommen werden (beides wäre an sich nach der Aussage in v 12 durchaus möglich). Die Verwendung der Ewigkeitsformel geht auf die jüdische Berakha zurück 1); sie findet sich im Judentum aber ebenso in substantivischen Doxologien, z.B. in 4 Macc. xviii 24: ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων 2). Die Analogie der Berakha legt es nahe, dass auch die Doxologie durch ein ἐστίν zu ergänzen ist. Die Formel ,,Gepriesen . . .'' ist nämlich zumindest weithin indikativisch verstanden worden. Die LXX übersetzen jedenfalls regelmässig εὐλογητὸς εἶ . . ., gepriesen *bist* du . . . , Ps. cxix (cxviii) 12 3); 1 Chron. xxix 10; 1 Esra iv 60; Tob. iii 11; viii 5, 15-17; xi 14 (BA); Dan. (ö.; auch εὐλογημένος iii 53; ebenso Theodotion) bis hin zu 1 Macc. iv 30, und dabei folgen sie (soweit das feststellbar ist) nicht einer hebräischen Verbalform, sondern geben ein ,,Du'' wieder.

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[1]) Ihre Notwendigkeit wird deutlich von der einflächigen Behandlung der gottesdienstlichen Stücke der Apc. her, wie sie etwa bei L. G. Champion, *Benedictions and Doxologies in the Epistles of Paul* (Diss. Heidelberg 1934), 102, 104 f., 107, 110, 114 vorliegt; sie werden einfach als hymns bezeichnet.

[2]) Die im Alten Testament sehr geläufige verbale Form des Lobpreises: „Gepriesen ..." kommt in Apc. nicht vor (im Neuen Testament am häufigsten bei Paulus).

Wird der Lobpreis in der dritten Person gesprochen, so bietet die Übersetzung in der Regel keine Verbalform 4). Gelegentlich findet sich ein γένοιτο (m.W. nur 1 Kön. x 9), auch ἔστω (m.W. nur 2 Chron. ix 8), beides in Verbindung mit εὐλογημένος 5); das Part. perf. pass. wird mit εἴη gebraucht in bezug auf den Namen Gottes in Dan. ii 20 Theodotion (dafür LXX ἔσται), Hiob i 21; Ps. cxiii (cxii) 2 6), ἔστω Ps. lxxii (lxxi) 17 7); dagegen steht εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομα . . . ohne Hilfsverb in Ps. lxxii (lxxi) 19 8); Tob. iii 11; viii 5; xi 14, entsprechend εὐλογημένον τὸ ὄνομα . . . Dan. iii 52 9). Für den

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1) Vgl. dazu Werner 282 f., nach dem sie ursprünglich im Tempel grössere Bedeutung hatte als in der Synagoge, vgl. 314.

2) Heidnische Belege für eine ähnliche Verwendung von δόξα sind nicht bekannt, Klauser 228 Nr. 10. Dagegen sind gewisse Ewigkeitsformeln bezeugt, *ebd.* 218 f.

3) Die Belege werden nach der Zählung der hebräischen Bibel angegeben; bei Abweichungen in LXX wird die Zählung für diese in Klammern gesetzt.

4) Nach Mayser II 3, 16 f. fallen in den Papyri der Ptolemäerzeit in Hauptsätzen ἐστίν und εἰσίν (selten εἶναι) aus in allgemein gültigen Erfahrungssätzen, (18) ἔστω in der festen Wendung ,,den Göttern Dank''; übrigens ergänzen H. G. Liddell-R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*^{9} (1953 = 1940) s.v. χάρις II 2 zu dieser Formel ἐστίν, was sich nach der (allerdings nicht ganz sicheren) Lesung der Herausgeber durch Pap. Fay. 124, 15 f. τοῖς θεοῖς ἐστιν χάρις (2. Jhdt. n. Chr.) belegen lässt.

5) Beidemale ist der Gebrauch des griechischen Hilfsverbs durch hebräisches *j*^{e}*hi* veranlasst. Ebenso Ps. civ (ciii) 31 ἤτω ἡ δόξα κυρίου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

6) Diese beiden sind die einzigen Stellen, an denen das Puʿal von *brk* auf den Lobpreis Gottes bezogen wird.

7) An diesen drei Stellen für *j*^{e}*hi* (an der letzten fehlt eine Form von *brk*).

8) Wie im hebräischen Text.

9) Nur griechisch erhalten. — In den Testamenten der zwölf Partiarchen begegnet weder εὐλογητός noch εὐλογημένος in Formeln des Lobpreises.

Lobpreis Gottes in der zweiten Person wäre (trotz der Verwendung von ἔστω in der dritten) ἴσθι nach dem sonstigen Gebrauch der Form in LXX (immer in Befehl und Weisung, 8mal Prov., 2mal Sir., sonst Ex. xxiv 12 [1]); Num. v 19; Tob. iv 14, also hauptsächlich in Weisheitsliteratur) wohl nicht recht brauchbar gewesen; dagegen hätte sich etwa die Verwendung von εἴης nahegelegt. Denn diese Form begegnet in LXX wohl nur zufällig nicht [2]); die dritte Person findet sich immerhin häufig genug in Wunschsätzen, wenngleich am häufigsten in Hiob (hier 12mal εἴη; 1mal εἴησαν), so doch auch in verschiedenen anderen Schriften: Ruth ii 19 [3]); 2 Sam. xiv 17; 1 Kön. i 37; 1 Chron. xii 18; Ps. cxiii (cxii) 2; Sir. xlvi 11 (sonst Gen. xxiii 15 und Ez. i 16 mit ἄν, ebenso übrigens 2 Macc. xi 28; in indirekter Frage bzw. Rede iii 37; iv 1). Ebenso könnte ἔσῃ benutzt worden sein, das in LXX ziemlich häufig ist, wenn auch überwiegend im futurischen Sinn; doch begegnet es auch öfters in Wunschsätzen [4]). Jedenfalls hat gewiss kein Übersetzer gemeint, man solle die Form εἶ als Wunsch verstehen.

Übrigens dürfte das im Alten Testament gelegentlich in der Wunschform ausgesprochene Verständnis des „Gepriesen . . ." zum indikativischen zumindest nicht im Gegensatz stehen. Das „Gepriesen . . ." in der Wunschform vollzieht ja eben augenblicklich die Preisung Gottes [5]) und stellt zugleich fest, dass ihm der Lobpreis gehört; beides schliesst auch die indikativische Fassung ein. In der Doxologie kann dann der Nachdruck ganz auf der Konstatierung liegen, dass Gott das ihm Zugesprochene zu eigen ist; deshalb muss sich die Doxologie auch nicht auf das Substantiv δόξα beschränken (die Berakha kann nur sagen: „Gepriesen . . .").

Dass die indikativische Auffassung auch [6]) für die Doxologien der Apc. naheliegt, zeigen bestimmte sonstige Substantive [1]) der Doxologien selbst (besonders in vii 12) wie auch in anderen lobpreisenden Stücken, von denen noch zu reden ist.

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[1]) Das ist die einzige Stelle, wo es durch die (insgesamt freilich nur 14mal begegnende) hebräische Imperativform von „sein" veranlasst ist; LXX bevorzugen für deren Wiedergabe γίνου 1 Sam. xviii 17; Gen. xvii 1; Ex. xxxiv 2; Gen. xxiv 60 (hebr. fem.) bzw. γενοῦ Ps. xxxi (xxx) 3; lxxi (lxx) 3; Ri. xvii 10A; xviii 19B (hier nicht erwähnte Stellen: Ex. xviii 19; Jes. xxxiii 2; Ps. xxx (xxix) 11; Qoh. vii 14). — γίνου mit εὐλογ- verbunden nur Judith xv 10, in Anwendung auf Menschen (sei gesegnet von Gott), übrigens neben εὐλογητὴ σύ (ohne Verb) xiii 18 (vgl. εὐλογημένη σύ Tob. xi 17S).

[2]) Entsprechend ist ἔστω, d.h. die dritte Person, weit häufiger zu finden als ἴσθι, die zweite; dabei war εἴης von dem bekannten εἴη aus leicht zu bilden.

[3]) Verbunden mit εὐλογημένος, aber auf einen Menschen bezogen, für *jᵉhi*. Mit Jer. xx 14, wo *barukh* in LXX durch ἐπευκτός, *jᵉhi* durch ἔστω wiedergegeben ist, und Prov. v 18, wo in LXX ein anderer Text vorausgesetzt ist, und einschliesslich der in unserem Zusammenhang notierten sind wohl alle Stellen erfasst, an denen *jᵉhi* mit *brk* verbunden ist; deren sind also nicht viele.

[4]) Eine der beiden Stellen, an denen in LXX der hebräische Imperativ von „sein" durch ἔσῃ ersetzt wird, ist immerhin eine εὐλογητός-Wendung; sie bezieht sich indessen auf einen Menschen: Gen. xii 2 (die andere Stelle ist Ri. xviii 19, jedoch nur in der Fassung von A).

[5]) Vgl. die S. 109, Anm. 4, erwähnte Analogie. Völlig anders liegt es natürlich, wenn *barukh* sich auf Menschen bezieht und den Segen Gottes zum Inhalt hat.

[6]) Wie für die Eulogie bei Paulus nach Röm. ix 5, wenn man die Stelle grammatisch exakt exegesiert; ausdrücklich ἐστὶν εὐλογητός Röm. i 25, vgl. für die Doxologie ᾧ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα 1 Petr. iv 11.

Gibt es in Apc. keine Doxologie im engeren Sinn des Wortes, in der (wie das sonst im Neuen Testament üblich ist) als preisendes Substantiv nur δόξα genannt wird, so begegnet δόξα andererseits, wie wir sahen, auch gelegentlich in preisenden Stücken [2]), die nicht selbst zu den speziellen Doxologien gehören. Doch sagen die beiden Würdig-Rufe in iv 11 und v 12 ja gerade von Gott und Christus aus, dass sie der Doxologie würdig sind, und xix 7 redet entsprechend von deren Realisierung (von xix 1 ist später zu sprechen). Offensichtlich wird das Wort εὐλογία in Apc. (formal entsprechend LXX) rein im Sinn der Darbringung des Lobpreises gebraucht; es begegnet nur in den Doxologien selbst (v 13; vii 12) und v 12, wo, wie gesagt, die Würdigkeit des Lammes zum Empfang solchen Lobpreises proklamiert wird.

Ein oberflächlicher Vergleich zwischen v 12 und v 13 könnte freilich zu dem Schluss führen, dass Doxologie und Würdig-Ruf in Apc. kaum zu scheiden sind. Die drei letzten preisenden Substantive von v 12 begegnen als erste in v 13, und das erste und vierte in V. 12 sind wenigstens in dem letzten von V. 13 zusammengefasst; iv 11 enthält nur drei preisende Substantive, die aber ihrem Inhalt nach v 13 ganz entsprechen. Indessen ist diese Beziehung zwischen Doxologie und Würdig-Ruf hier eben dadurch gegeben, dass der Würdig-Ruf die Berechtigung der Doxologie behauptet bzw. begründet. Das wird augenfällig in der Aufeinanderfolge von v 12 und v 13: In V. 13 wird von der gesamten Schöpfung ausgeführt, was die Himmlischen in V. 12 als dem Lamme gebührend bezeichnet haben. Wie verschieden grundsätzlich Doxologie und Würdig-Ruf der Form nach sind, zeigt der Vergleich mit v 9. Hier bezieht sich der Würdig-Ruf (der natürlich auch in eine gehobene Sprache gefasst ist [3])) eindeutig auf ein bestimmtes initiatorisches Ereignis im geschauten Ablauf des heilsgeschichtlichen Geschehens. Dem Lamme wird die Vollmacht zugesprochen, die Endereignisse nach dem Willen Gottes heraufzuführen[1]. Diese Ermächtigung ist begründet in dem bereits geschehenen Heilswerk des Lammes[2]. Legitimität fordert eine sachliche Begründung; die Tat legitimiert. In v 12 braucht eine Begründung des Würdigseins nicht gegeben zu werden, nachdem sie eben ausgesprochen ist. Hier, in v 12, wird ausdrücklich in Worte gefasst, was in v 9 eingeschlossen war: Das Lamm empfängt in dem himmlischen Akt von v 8 die Macht, die Fülle, die Weisheit, die Stärke und mit dem allen auch die Ehre, die δόξα[3] und den Lobpreis. Die vier ersten Substantive sind in Apc. v 12 gewiss sämtlich auf das Wirken des Christus bezogen (darauf könnten schon die Rahmenbegriffe δύναμις und ἰσχύς weisen[4]). πλοῦτος meint die Fülle des Wirkens in Macht, das sich in den folgenden Ereignissen vollzieht[5]; die Verwendung von σοφία in bezug auf Gott ist ja im Alten Testament klar auf das Wirken Gottes ausgerichtet (in der Schöpfung, Jer. x 12; li [xxviii] 15; Ps. civ [ciii] 24; Prov. iii 19, überall σοφία für *chokma*). Aus dem machtvollen Wirken des Christus ergibt sich, dass ihm auch die entsprechende δόξα zukommt — bei dem Wort mag an Ehre und Lobpreis zugleich gedacht sein; aber auch der Gedanke der Herrlichkeit dürfte (entsprechend der Bedeutungsbreite von *kabod*) nicht fern sein. Umgekehrt sind die Substantive in dem Würdig-Ruf iv 11 angeordnet; wohl nicht von ungefähr. Spricht Kap. iv von dem, der von Ewigkeit her in der nach Jes. vi beschriebenen Weise angebetet wird (vgl. Apc. iv 9), so ertönt auch der Würdig-Ruf des himmlischen Gottesdienstes ständig. Gott gebührt der Lobpreis und die Anerkennung seiner Macht, die von der Schöpfung her kund ist; sie wird in dem folgenden Geschehen völlig durchgesetzt.

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[1]) Ähnlich weist der Inhalt der einer Doxologie gleichkommenden Preisung in 3 (1) Esr. iv 40 (s. u. S. 113, Anm. 1) darauf, dass sie indikativisch zu übersetzen ist.

[2]) Die Wendung „Gott die Ehre geben" in xi 13; xiv 7; xvi 9 ist auf die Umkehr zu Gott bezogen (vgl. LOHMEYER zu xiv 7), s. Jos. vii 19 (vgl. allgemein F. HORST, Die Doxologien im Amosbuch, *Zeitschr. für die alttestam. Wiss.* 47 = *N.F.* 6 [1929], 45-54).

[3]) Auch sie hat aber zugleich eine sachliche Absicht; die Häufung der Bezeichnungen der Völker soll unterstreichen, dass aus der gesamten Menschheit die „Erkauften" kommen.

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[1] Vgl. zum Inhaltlichen auch G. SCHRENK, *ThWbzNT* I, 617 f.

[2] V. 10 spannt den Bogen vom Anfang des Heilsgeschehens in Christus (i 6) bis zu seiner Vollendung (xx 4); mit dem betonten Gottesgedanken (Gott setzt seine Macht durch) ist für den Apokalyptiker untrennbar der Gedanke an Rettung und Herrlichkeit der Erwählten verbunden (Gott setzt seine Macht durch für die Schar der Seinen).

[3] πλοῦτος und δόξα sind in LXX häufig verbunden, Gen. xxxi 16; 1 Kön. iii 13 usw., entsprechend *'oschär* und *kabod* besonders in Prov.; natürlich meist in ganz anderem Sinn als in Apc. In 1 Chron. xxix 12 wird aber auch Gott *'oschär* und *kabod*, πλοῦτος und δόξα, zugesprochen. Unser Verweis auf die LXX behauptet nicht, dass der Apokalyptiker diese benutzt hat, sondern nur, dass strukturelle Analogien bestehen.

[4] Immerhin kann ἰσχύς auch einmal (m.W. nicht öfter in LXX) Wiedergabe von *hod* „Majestät" sein, 1 Chron. xxix 11.

[5] Die Begriffe sind z.T. nur in gewissem Umfang differenzierbar. πλοῦτος und ἰσχύς sind z.B. in LXX beide Übersetzung von *chail*, das das „Vermögen" sowohl im Sinne der Kraft wie des Besitzes wie der Streitmacht bedeutet. *chail* wird aber auch häufig durch δύναμις wiedergegeben, usw.

Die gleiche inhaltliche Beziehung, die die Ähnlichkeit von v 12 mit v 13 begründet, erklärt auch die Verwandtschaft mit vii 12: Weil in v 12 grundsätzlich von der Doxologie die Rede ist, begegnen hier auch die Substantive, die die Doxologie verwenden kann, in möglichst umfassender Aufzählung; konkret ausgeführt wird eine solche umfassende Doxologie in vii 12 (v 13 war die Siebenzahl wohl absichtlich nicht wieder aufgenommen). In v 12 wie in vii 12 wird eine siebengliedrige Kette von Substantiven gebildet — die Siebenzahl ist wohl nicht zufällig, zumal einige der verwendeten Substantive ausserhalb dieser beiden Stellen in Apc. nicht lobpreisend gebraucht werden. So σοφία und ἰσχύς [1], während πλοῦτος überhaupt nur in v 12 auf Gott hin ausgesagt wird. Konnten wir für diese Wörter als Gottesprädikationen Beziehungen zum Alten Testament aufzeigen, so setzt ihre Zusammenstellung in v 12; vii 12 doch eine recht planmässige Gestaltung der Reihen voraus, in denen der Anspruch Gottes auf jede erdenkliche rühmende Prädikation zum Ausdruck kommen soll (Sieben die Zahl der Vollkommenheit). εὐλογία begegnet ausser an diesen beiden Stellen in v 13, wo ausserdem noch κράτος verwendet wird (das sich sonst nur i 6 findet), während τιμή ausser v 12 f.; vii 12 auch in iv 11 preisend gebraucht ist. In iv 11 lesen wir drei Substantive, in v 13 vier, in i 6 nur zwei. Der Apokalyptiker hat also einen gewissen Bestand an preisenden Termini, mit denen er wechselt, die zugleich auch gewisse Verbindungslinien zwischen verschiedenen Formen gottesdienstlicher Stücke ziehen (die mehr konstatierenden haben ja auch z.T. lobpreisenden Klang); seine „gottesdienstliche"

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[1] Eine auffallende stilistische Parallele bietet die Preisung der Wahrheit in 3 (1) Esr. iv 40: καὶ αὐτῇ ἡ ἰσχὺς καὶ τὸ βασίλειον καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία καὶ ἡ μεγαλειότης τῶν πάντων αἰώνων — eine völlig exakte Doxologie auf die ἀλήθεια konnte der fromme Jude natürlich nicht formen; die Möglichkeit des Missverständnisses im Sinne der Gefährdung des Monotheismus wird abgebogen durch eine angefügte Berakha auf den Gott der Wahrheit. Zur Verbindung von σοφία und ἰσχύς in Apc. vgl. die μέγας-Akklamation in Ps. cxlvii (cxlvi) 5: Parallele zwischen ἰσχύς und σύνεσις Gottes, die beide auf sein Handeln in Schöpfung und Menschengeschichte bezogen sind.

Redeweise ist nicht erstarrt, aber geprägt, weithin vom Alten Testament.

Der preisende Gebrauch von λαμβάνειν ist in Apc. z.T. etwas schwebend (vgl. besonders iv 11; v 12). Das hängt wohl damit zusammen, dass es in der gleichen Aussage verschiedene Objekte zu tragen hat, vom Lobpreis [1]) auf der einen bis zur Macht auf der anderen Seite; dafür musste ein einigermassen allgemeiner Begriff gewählt werden [2]). Dass es sich im letzten Fall in Apc. um den Antritt der Herrschaft, die Übernahme der Machtfunktion, handeln kann, ist eindeutig durch xvii 12; ii 28. Dieser Sprachgebrauch ist dem Apokalyptiker zumindest [3]) von Dan. her geläufig, wo *qbl* die Übernahme der Herrschaft sei es durch Darius (vi 1), sei es durch die Heiligen des Höchsten (vii 18) bezeichnet (beidemale haben LXX und Theodotion dafür παραλαμβάνειν, vgl. dazu Hebr. xii 28). Die Übernahme der Herrschaft ist zunächst auch Apc. v 12 gemeint, während es sich bei Gott natürlich nur um die Realisierung seiner Herrschermacht handeln kann; vgl. xi 17. Sowohl in dieser Beziehung wie hinsichtlich des Lobpreises war das Simplex geeignet anzudeuten, dass Gott an sich nimmt bzw. empfängt, was ihm schon gehört.

Der Würdig-Ruf in iv 11 ist offenbar nach einem dreifachen Dreierschema gebaut [4]): Würdig-Prädikation [5]) mit doppelter Anrede (sodass auch hier drei Glieder gezählt werden können), drei Substantive, die von λαβεῖν abhängig sind, drei Schöpfungsaussagen. Bei diesem Stück könnte die Frage nach der Übernahme aus dem irdischen Gottesdienst einigermassen naheliegen; nach vorwärts ist es indessen auch situationsbezogen. — Die Schilderung des neuen heilsgeschichtlichen Geschehens setzt erst v 1 ein, wird aber durch iv 11 vorbereitet. Was iv 11 und v 9, 12 verbindet, das ist natürlich die Tatsache, dass auch in dem Handeln des Christus die Macht Gottes sich realisiert. Darum steht der Würdig-Ruf von iv 11 (der also doppelt bezogen ist, nach rückwärts und vorwärts) unmittelbar vor v 1: In dem nun anhebenden Geschehen wird Gott verherrlicht und setzt er seine Macht durch, die von der Schöpfung her offenbar ist.

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[1]) LXX für darbringen des Lobpreises φέρειν und διδόναι; dem letzten entspricht lexikalisch das λαμβάνειν der Apc., das in LXX offenbar nicht mit δόξα verbunden wird.

[2]) Zur Bedeutungsbreite von λαμβάνειν, an sich nehmen (so besonders in LXX) — empfangen (so besonders im Neuen Testament, vor allem in theologischen Aussagen; beides im ausserbiblischen Gebrauch), vgl. *ThWbzNT* IV 5 f.

[3]) παραλαμβάνειν βασιλείαν findet sich natürlich auch sonst, 2 Macc. iv 7; x 11 von Seleukiden, Bel 1 (Theodotion) von Kyros.

[4]) Das hat JOH. HORST, *Proskynein* (1932), 276 anschaulich gemacht.

[5]) Die Konstruktion von ἄξιος mit Infinitiv ist gut griechisch und häufig im Sinne von „verdienen zu . . .".

Die Herkunft des Würdig-Rufes ist noch wenig geklärt [1]). Dass er später die Beteiligung des Volkes an der Bischofswahl ausdrückt [2]), erhellt nicht eindeutig den vorchristlichen Sinn des Rufes. Die ältesten Belege für die Verwendung bei der Kaiserakklamation böten die Scriptores Historiae Augustae, wenn wir ihrer historischen Zuverlässigkeit gerade in diesem Punkt gewiss sein könnten, Diadum. i 8: Antoninus dignus imperio (218 n. Chr.), und Probus xi 9: fuisti semper dignus imperio, dignus triumphis (Probus 276-282 n. Chr.); die Formel wird also wie in Apc. in zweiter oder in dritter Person gebraucht. In Apc. meint der Ruf jedenfalls ganz entsprechend die Zustimmung zu einer Macht- und (oder) Ehrenstellung des Akklamierten. In diese Richtung weist etwa auch Sap. ix 12 (Gebet Salomos): ἔσομαι ἄξιος θρόνων πατρός μου, oder 4 Macc. vii 6 (Ausruf des Schriftstellers): ὦ ἄξιε τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἱερεῦ. Natürlich kann die Akklamation in Apc. dem Akklamierten nichts geben, was ihm nicht bereits völlig zu eigen wäre.

Der Würdig-Ruf in Apc. v 9 f. (und die ihn ins Allgemeine ausweitende Fortsetzung) ist die christologisch bedeutsame Krönung des Gesamtgeschehens von Kap. v, dessen im Ursinn des Wortes dramatischer Höhepunkt (v 8) durch die steigende Spannung in V. 2-5 wirkungsvoll vorbereitet ist. Erst v 9 f. gibt die für den Verf. offenbar entscheidende Auskunft über die geheimnisvolle Gestalt von V. 5-7: Sie hat ihre Würde (die durch V. 2-8 eindrücklich unterstrichen ist) erlangt durch ihr Sterben und dessen heilsgeschichtliche Folgen.

Es ist kaum zufällig, dass Würdig-Rufe in Apc. später nicht mehr begegnen. Die mit dem Würdig-Ruf Prädizierten verwirklichen im Endgeschehen ihre Macht, die ihnen durch diesen Ruf feierlich zugesprochen wird. Die Himmlischen vollziehen die Akklamationen, die die initiatorischen Akte als solche bestätigen und sie interpretieren; darin liegt die Bedeutung der Würdig-Rufe. Durch sie wird der (vom Apokalyptiker aus gesehen künftige) Beginn des endgültigen Vollzugs der Macht Gottes und der Herrschaft des Christus der (himmlischen) Öffentlichkeit bekanntgemacht, wie das später ähnlich im irdischen Bereich durch die Würdig-Akklamationen für Kaiser und Bischöfe bezeugt ist.

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[1]) Der heidnische Beleg Pap. Oxyrh. 41, 8 u. 20 gehört in die Zeit um 300 n. Chr.; vgl. KLAUSER 228, Nr. 7.

[2]) PETERSON 176 f.

Der erste Würdig-Ruf auf das Lamm wird (wohl nur) durch die 24 Ältesten dargebracht (wie schon der auf Gott); sein Kontext wird als neues Lied bezeichnet, das sie singen. Dabei liegt (trotz der Zithern, die sie in den Händen halten [1]); da sie auch Rauchopfer-Schalen tragen, könnten sie die Instrumente ja nicht spielen) der Nachdruck nicht auf der Vorstellung des gesungenen Liedes, sondern auf dem Gedanken, der mit dem Begriff des *neuen* Liedes verbunden ist. Meint das Judentum, dass ein neues Lied von Israel erst in der Endzeit gesungen wird, so dürfte auch in Apc. v 9 mit der Bezeichnung der Gedanke der eschatologischen Vollendung betont sein. Im Spätjudentum wird jener jüdische Satz öfters durch Ps. xcviii 1 begründet, gelegentlich auch durch Ps. xcvi 1 [2]); beide Psalmen preisen den sich nahenden Weltenrichter. An diesen Gedanken dürfte auch die Bezeichnung ,,neues Lied" in Apc. v 9 besonders erinnern (sie begegnet noch xiv 3, in bezug auf das nicht ,,lernbare" Lied der 144000).

II. DIE SONSTIGEN STÜCKE DES HIMMLISCHEN GOTTESDIENSTES

Den das gesamte Endgeschehen einleitenden Würdig-Rufen korrespondieren in bestimmter Weise die seinen Vollzug konstatierenden in xi 15; xii 10-12: Mit (ἄρτι) ἐγένετο (vgl. das entsprechende Perfekt in xvi 17; xxi 6) wird festgestellt, dass die Herrschaft Gottes und seines Messias im Endgeschehen nun tatsächlich realisiert wird. Hat auch die Sprache beider Stücke gottesdienstlichen Stil, so entspricht ihre Form doch nicht einer uns bekannten gottesdienstlichen Gattung. Besonders xii 10-12 ist eine Interpretation der eschatologischen Ereignisse, die für den Apokalyptiker als himmlische Erläuterung des Geschehens wichtig ist. Dass V. 10-12 Deutewort vor allem zu V. 9 ist, wird in der inhaltlichen Entsprechung von V. 10 Ende und V. 12 Ende zu V. 9 sichtbar; xii 11 f. erhält für den Verf. wohl auch paränetischen Wert. Die abgesehen von der Einleitung einzige Stelle des Stückes von hymnischem Klang ist vom Alten Tetament beeinflusst; der liedmässige Eindruck wird sogleich aufgehoben durch den Weheruf, der jedenfalls keine gottesdienstliche Gattung repräsentiert [3]). xi 15 begleitet die siebente Posaune und leitet damit eine neue grosse Gruppe von Visionen ein, deren umfassenden Sinn im Ganzen (über Kap. xii f. hinausgreifend) in einer allgemein gehaltenen Aussage proleptisch bezeichnend; damit wird die Bedeutung dieser Visionen bzw. ihres Inhaltes unterstrichen, und diese Hervorhebungen sind von grosser Wichtigkeit für den Apokalyptiker und damit für das Verständnis der Apc.; dagegen geben sie keinen Anlass zu der Annahme einer entsprechenden Gattung im irdischen Gottesdienst der Gemeinden des Verf.s [1]).

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[1]) Allerdings redet Apc. von Liedern des himmlischen Gottesdienstes nur dort, wo sie auch die Saiteninstrumente erwähnt (v 8 f.; xiv 2 f.; xv 2 f.).

[2]) Belege bei STR.-BILLERBECK III, 801 f.

[3]) Der prophetische Charakter des Weherufes ist z.B. auch in der synop-

Ähnliches gilt für ein konstatierendes Stück wie xvi 5 f., auch wenn es mehr akklamatorischen Charakter trägt. Natürlich ist der Anfang „liturgisch" geprägt [2]); Gott wird als der Treue und Gerechte [3]) auch in dem Lied xv 3 f. gepriesen, weil er sich für die Seinen einsetzt und ihre Verfolger „richtet"; das festzustellen ist entsprechend die Aufgabe von xvi 5 f. Der Apokalyptiker verwendet in den Auditionen einzelne Elemente hymnischen Stils zur Erläuterung der Visionen; aber die Deutung des Geschauten ist das ihm Wichtige auch in Stücken wie xvi 5 f. Die darauffolgende Stimme (xvi 7) bestätigt den Gerichtscharakter der Vision, wenngleich in feierlicher Anrede an Gott [4]).

In xv 3 f. geht die Form der Akklamation schon in die des Liedes über; als solches wird das Stück ja auch bezeichnet (und hier wäre das Handhaben der Instrumente, V. 2, nicht unmöglich). Der hymnische Charakter ist deutlich: V. 3b und 3c sind ganz parallel gebaut, zumal im konstatierenden Teil; aber die feierliche

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tischen Tradition noch deutlich, vgl. besonders das Gerichtswort Matth. xi 21 (Luc. x 13). Dass das Wehe Gerichtsgeschehen heraufführt, zeigen in Apc. natürlich besonders ix 12; xi 14. In Apc. xviii 10, 16, 19 erinnert die Verwendung des Wehe an die im alttestamentlichen Klagelied, speziell der Leichenklage (Jer. xxii 18; xxxiv [xli] 5). Wehe des allgemeinen Klageliedes: Apc. viii 13. Ungewohnt in Neuem Testament und LXX ist οὐαί mit Akkusativ (LXX haben dagegen, wie Apc. in Kap. xviii, den Vokativ [rund 20mal] bzw., wie das sonstige Neue Testament, den Dativ [rund 30mal]; selten ἐπί).

[1]) Zu vii 10, das seiner Form nach zwischen xii 10-12 und xvi 5 f. einzureihen wäre, s. später (S. 134 f.; auch 119 f.).

[2]) Er nimmt wieder eine alttestamentliche Wendung auf; δίκαιος εἶ κύριε Ps. cxix (cxviii) 137; Jer. xii 1.

[3]) Zu diesem Sinn von ὅσιος vgl. Fr. Hauck, *ThWbzNT* V, 490 f.

[4]) Wie xvi 5 f., 7 sind in Anredeform gefasst zwei Würdig-Rufe (iv 11; v 9; anders v 13), das „Lied" xv 3 f. und natürlich das Gebet xi 17 f. Die Doxologien und die meisten Konstatierungen (vii 10; xi 15; xii 10; auch die an Halleluja angeschlossenen in Kap. xix) sind in der dritten Person formuliert (für das Trishagion war sie mit Jes. vi 3 gegeben).

Monotonie dieser Doppelaussage wird etwas aufgelockert durch die formale Verschiedenheit der Anreden (sachlich stimmen sie stark überein). Fragen wie die zwischen die Aussagesätze in V. 4a eingeschobene [1]) sind freilich in belehrenden Stücken des Alten Testaments häufiger als im Lobpreis; die in V. 4a gestellte ist, wie die Aussage in V. 3bc, zweiteilig, aber die Anrede steht zwischen den Teilen. Die dreigliedrige Begründung rundet das Ganze wirkungsvoll ab — wirkungsvoll für den Verf. vor allem durch den dritten Satz, der den ihn besonders bewegenden Gedanken (der schon in V. 3c begegnete [2])) unterstreicht, aber natürlich auch durch die Dreigliedrigkeit überhaupt. In der Aussage über die Gerechtigkeit (ἀληθιναί und δίκαιαι) der Wege (bzw. Gerichte) Gottes berührt sich xv 3 mit xvi 7 und xix 2; inhaltlich stammt die Aussage aus dem Alten Testament. Die nächste Beziehung ergibt sich für sie wohl zu Deut. xxxii 4, und Deut. xxxii ist als Lied des Mose bekannt. Die übrigen Wendungen gehen indessen (mit Ausnahme des eigenständigen letzten Sätzchens von V. 4) sämtlich auf andere alttestamentliche Zusammenhänge (aus Propheten und Psalmen) zurück, und da die Sänger an einem Meer stehen und andererseits als Sieger bezeichnet werden, soll die Analogie offenbar das Siegeslied der Israeliten am Roten Meer abgeben, zu dem sich auch gewisse Berührungen im einzelnen finden lassen (etwa Ex. xv 11b zu Apc. xv 3b; freilich keine Entlehnungen) [3]). Schwieriger ist zu sagen, warum das Stück Lied des Lammes heisst; denn natürlich kann mit dem Genetiv nicht der Sänger des Liedes gemeint sein (formal analog der vorangehenden Bezeichnung), ebensowenig aber der im Lied Angesprochene (vgl. formal dagegen v 9); das Lied wendet sich eindeutig an Gott. Also soll durch die zweite Bezeichnung wohl das in dem Lied gepriesene Handeln Gottes auf das Heilsgeschehen in Christus zurückbezogen werden, das in dem eschatologischen Geschehen vollendet wird (vgl. inhaltlich Apc. v 9; die einzelnen, aus dem Alten Testament übernommenen Aussagen des Liedes lassen diese Beziehung ja nicht erkennen). Die μέγας-Akklamation ist schon dem Alten Testament bekannt (1 Chron. xvi 25: μέγας κύριος, Ps. cxlvii [cxlvi] 5: μέγας ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ μεγάλη ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτοῦ), natürlich auch dem späteren Judentum (Bel [Theodotion] 41: μέγας εἶ, κύριε, vgl. 18: μέγας εἶ, Βηλ [LXX jeweils: ἐστί]; 3 [1] Esra iv 41: μεγάλη ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ὑπερισχύει) 1). xv 4 enthält das einzige Beispiel der μόνος-Prädikation für Gott in Apc., die bereits dem Alten Testament geläufig ist (*lᵉbad*), ebenso dem Diasporajudentum und natürlich der heidnischen Umwelt. Ist auch dieses ,,Lied" situationsgebunden, voll verständlich nur innerhalb des Ablaufs des eschatologischen Geschehens, so teilt es diese Eigenart eben mit den meisten Texten der Apc., die gottesdienstlichen Stil zeigen.

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[1]) Der erste Teil ist aus Jer. x 7 übernommen, der zweite formt Ps. lxxxvi 9 um, wie der Apokalyptiker auch sonst sein Material stilistisch nach seinen Notwendigkeiten umgestaltet (etwa iii 7).

[2]) Er war natürlich bereits in V. 3b gemeint; das Lied ist insofern völlig gerundet, jedenfalls für den Verf., dem das apokalyptische Geschehen auch im Lied, als der Grund des Lobpreises, besonders wichtig ist.

[3]) In die „biblischen Oden" sind später durch die Kirche beide Moselieder aufgenommen worden; vgl. H. SCHNEIDER, Die biblischen Oden im christlichen Altertum, *Biblica* 30 (1949), 28-65, bes. 35.

Das gilt schliesslich auch, ja im ganzen noch stärker, von den preisenden Feststellungen in Apc. xix, die für die Beurteilung der eschatologischen Ereignisse recht bedeutsam sind. Begleiteten die Würdig-Rufe den Beginn des eschatologischen Vollzugs der Herrschaft Gottes und seines Christus, so die Halleluja-Rufe in Apc. dessen siegreichen Höhepunkt. Dass hier die Entscheidung schon gefallen ist, zeigt ausser dem Tenor des Ganzen wahrscheinlich bereits der blosse Gebrauch des Halleluja. Schon in Tob. xiii 18 ist Halleluja (neben der Berakha) der eschatologische Lobpreis, den die Strassen des neuen Jerusalem erschallen lassen 2); das spätere Judentum will das Halleluja der Endzeit vorbehalten (nach der Vernichtung der Gottlosen; so auf Grund des Zusammenhanges von Ps. civ 35, wo das erste Halleluja im Psalter begegnet 3)). Die Bedeutsamkeit des Halleluja-Rufes in Apc. xix wird auch darin sichtbar, dass er von der Vielzahl der Stimmen (die ihn zuerst erklingen lassen) wiederholt, von den Ältesten und den vier ,,Wesen" aufgegriffen und ein letztes Mal von noch gewaltiger ertönenden Stimmen aufgenommen wird.

Mit dem ersten Halleluja-Ruf verbindet sich zunächst eine zusammenfassende Feststellung, die in ihrem Vokabular an die konstatierende Aussage in xii 10 erinnert. σωτηρία (das in vii 10 allein erscheint) bezeichnet in Apc. offenbar die Rettermacht, die Gott

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1) Zur heidnischen μέγας-Akklamation vgl. PETERSON 200-208.

2) In 3 Macc. vii 13 Jubelruf nach einem Sieg des rechtgläubigen Judentums; in Apc. xix: nach dem Sieg über die ,,Hure" Welt.

3) STR.-BILLERBECK III, 497 unten; II, 725, Nr. 1. Vgl. auch WERNER 325 f.

eigen ist (Dativ vii 10 [1]); Genetiv xii 10; xix 1). Der Gedanke wird im Alten Testament entsprechend formuliert: τοῦ κυρίου ἡ σωτηρία = Jahwes ist die Hilfe (vor den Feinden), Ps. iii 9 [2]). σωτηρία ist in xii 10 deutlich Parallelwort zu δύναμις und βασιλεία; der Vollzug der Rettermacht Gottes wird dort im Sturz des Anklägers aus dem Himmel konstatiert, in xix 1 in der Überwindung der „grossen Hure" (auch hier δύναμις neben σωτηρία; dazwischen ist δόξα eingefügt: darin, dass Gott seine Gläubigen rettet, verwirklicht sich auch seine δόξα).

Der abschliessende Charakter von Apc. xix 1-8 [3]) zeigt sich auch darin, dass V. 1-8 überhaupt die Krönung des himmlischen Gottesdienstes in Apc. bilden, eine letzte Steigerung des konstatierenden Lobpreises; dieser dient dem Verf. offenbar tatsächlich in erster Linie zur proklamierenden Deutung des apokalyptisch richtenden und rettenden Handelns Gottes, dessen die himmlischen Rufe die Gemeinden gewiss machen sollen; mit Kap. xix hört der Gebrauch dieses Stilmittels jedenfalls auf. Nachdem der Kontext des letzten Halleluja-Rufes noch einmal feststellte, dass Gott sein Königtum endgültig aufgerichtet hat (xix 6), spricht er nur noch mit wenigen Worten von der bevorstehenden Vollendung des Heilsgeschehens in der Hochzeit des Lammes und der Gemeinde.

Es ist deutlich, dass auch diese Stücke weithin an die eschatologische Situation gebunden sind, in der sie — im Himmel — gesprochen werden (das Ende von xix 2 ist z.B. die Antwort auf vi 10). Sie gehören damit in eine grosse Gruppe von Bestandteilen des himmlischen Gottesdienstes hinein, die durch das kausale ὅτι charakterisiert sind. Diese beginnt mit den ersten beiden Würdig-Rufen am Anfang des apokalyptischen Geschehens, umfasst sodann die seine Etappen kennzeichnenden bzw. die Ereignisse beurteilenden Konstatierungen in xii 10-12; xvi 5 f. und endet mit den Halleluja-Stücken in Kap. xix. Zu ihr gehört schliesslich auch xv

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[1]) Der Dativ des Besitzes ist auch dem Neuen Testament durchaus bekannt, Blass-Debrunner § 189. Es handelt sich um einen konstatierenden Ruf der Gewissheit. Die Verwendung von σωτηρία in vii 10 entspricht inhaltlich xix 1, wo der Genetiv im possessiven Sinn gebraucht ist.

[2]) Auf die Stelle wird für Apc. in der Literatur seit längerem hingewiesen.

[3]) V. 5, die einzige *Aufforderung* zum Lobpreis, die im himmlischen Gottesdienst ausgesprochen wird, ist ein Verbindungsstück zwischen V. 1-4 und V. 6-8, das lediglich aus Ps. cxxxiv (cxxxiii) 1; cxxxv (cxxxiv) 1; cxv 13 (cxiii 21) zusammengesetzt ist; die Stellen werden teils zusammengezogen, teils leicht variiert.

3 f., zugleich Lied und Konstatierung, die Siebenschalen-Vision einleitend und ihre Bedeutung umreissend. Natürlich gibt es schon im alttestamentlichen Hymnenstil ein mehr oder weniger locker kausales ὅτι, das den Anlass des Rühmens einführt, sei es dass eine Formel des Preisens vorausgegangen ist (Luc. i 48 f., 68; Ps. cxxxviii [cxxxvii] 4-6; cxxxv [cxxxiv] 3 f.; cvii [cvi] 16 u.ä.), sei es auch, dass sie fehlt (vgl. etwa Kol. i 16, 19). Aber gerade der Vergleich der formal als verwandt erscheinenden Stücke der Apc. führt zu dem Eindruck, dass das ὅτι hier weithin wesentlich akzentuierter ist. Natürlich ist der Lobpreis des Apokalyptikers ernst gemeint (das sagt das betonte ὅτι *auch*); aber ebensosehr liegt ihm an der konstatierenden Deutung der Ereignisse, die er in den ὅτι-Sätzen anfügt. Dem ὅτι des gelockerten Hymnenstils am nächsten kommt das ὅτι der Apc. in xv 4 und in Kap. xix (xix 7 erinnert formal an Ps. cxxxviii [cxxxvii] 4 f.; Apc. xv 4 in dem ὅτι μόνος ὅσιος an Ps. cxxxv [cxxxiv] 3: ὅτι ἀγαθὸς κύριος).

In xi 17 f. handelt es sich natürlich einfach um das ὅτι des Dankgebetes. Seiner speziellen Aufgabe im Aufbau der Apc. nach weicht dieses Stück offenbar nicht von anderen besprochenen ab: eine Erklärung zum Gang der Ereignisse abzugeben. An die Stelle der Preisformel tritt das εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι; der Dank gilt der Verwirklichung der Macht Gottes, die in allen apokalyptischen Ereignissen sich durchsetzt. Formal ist das Stück hervorgehoben schon durch die Aufnahme der beiden vom Apokalyptiker hochgeschätzten Gottesbezeichnungen (von denen noch zu reden ist). Absichtlich gehandhabt ist wohl die Stellung der Verben, teils gegensätzlich an Anfang und Ende des Satzes dort, wo das Subjekt der Aussagen das gleiche ist und verschiedene Wörter gewählt werden (εἴληφας - ἐβασίλευσας), teils an Ende und Anfang der aufeinanderfolgenden Sätzchen, sodass diese sich in den Verben berühren, wo die Subjekte der Verben verschieden sind und die Vokabeln übereinstimmen (ὠργίσθησαν - ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή bzw. διαφθεῖραι - διαφθείροντας), sodass hier in dem wirkungsvollen Kontrast des Inhaltes der Aussagen der Vergeltungscharakter der Widerfahrnisse deutlich wird [1]). Auch in diesem Stück wird sichtbar, wie dem

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[1]) Auch κριθῆναι und δοῦναι . . . stossen gegensätzlich aufeinander. — Die hier etwas auffallende Wendung „Kleine und Grosse" (V. 18) ist stereotyp in Apc. und meint einfach (wie in Altem Testament und Act.) „alle", s. xiii 16; xix 18; von den Toten noch xx 12; mit φοβούμενοι zusammen auch xix 5 aus Ps. cxv 13.

Apokalyptiker das Inhaltliche entscheidend bleibt: Der Stil des Dankgebetes wird zuletzt völlig aufgegeben; V. 18 läuft — in einer harten abschliessenden Feststellung — vielmehr auf eine Interpretation der Situation hinaus, in die dieses einzige Dankgebet der Apc. hineingestellt ist.

III. DIE PARTIZIPIALEN GOTTESBEZEICHNUNGEN

In den Psalmen des Alten Testaments ist wie andere Stilelemente der Apc. auch der feierliche Partizipialstil ausgebildet [1], der sich in Apc. teilweise findet. Freilich gebraucht der Apokalyptiker überhaupt [2] gern substantivierte (und attributive) Partizipien mit dem Artikel als stehende Bezeichnungen [3]. Einen gewissen gottesdienstlichen Stil hat eine Reihe christologischer Prädikate in den Sendschreiben, die in präsentische Partizipien gefasst sind. So pointiert wie diese sind sonst in bezug auf Gott oder Christus noch wenige, wie das häufige ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου [4]. Die Bezeichnung mag in Apc. durch Jes. vi 1 angeregt sein, ist jedoch dort nicht Gottesname (vgl. Ps. xlvii [xlvi] 9); sie tritt dagegen in Apc. meist an die Stelle des Gottesnamens, selten unmittelbar neben das Wort „Gott" (vii 10; xix 4), und weist damit immer von neuem auf die gewaltige Eingangsvision des himmlischen Gottesdienstes in iv 2 ff. zurück, und in diesem bzw. dem himmlischen Geschehen überhaupt hat sie ihren sachlichen Ort (nicht im irdischen Gottesdienst). Als Ersatz des Gottesnamens entspricht ihr im Alten Testament ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβιν, Ps. lxxx (lxxix) 2; xcix (xcviii) 1; Dan. iii 55 [5]. ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου bezeichnet im Alten Testament zunächst einfach den irdischen Machthaber bzw. seine Stellung, vgl. Ex. xii 29; 1 Kön. i 48; viii 25 usw. Von da könnte die Bezeichnung auf Gott übertragen sein [6], zumindest aber nicht ohne Einfluss des „der über den Cheruben thront". „Der auf dem Thron sitzt" ist in Apc. natürlich wie dieses Bezeichnung Gottes als des Mächtigen und Erhabenen; in Stücken des himmlischen Gottesdienstes begegnet die Wendung v 13; vii 10 (sonst achtmal).

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[1] H. Gunkel-J. Begrich, *Einleitung in die Psalmen* (1933), 44-46.

[2] Über die im Neuen Testament an sich verbreitete Verwendung des attributiven und substantivierten Partizips hinaus, vgl. Blass-Debrunner § 411-13 und Bruder, *Concordantiae ... sub* ὁ, ἡ, τό V, 2 und VII, 1, wo das Material für das Partizip mit Artikel zusammengestellt ist.

[3] Etwa in der Form ὁ νικῶν, die 7mal in den Sendschreiben begegnet, ausserdem xxi 7.

[4] Bei Nestle 5mal mit Genetiv, 5mal mit Dativ.

[5] Dan. iii 55 gehört einem nicht im kanonischen Text überlieferten Stück an. Vgl. ferner 2 Sam. vi 2; 2 Kön. xix 15; 1 Chron. xiii 6; Jes. xxxvii 16.

[6] Vgl. O. Schmitz, *ThWbzNT* III, 162, zur theologischen Bedeutung des Thrones Gottes in Apc. *ebd.* 165 f.

An partizipialen Gottesnamen ist ausser dem später zu besprechenden ὁ ὢν κτλ. noch das Prädikat (ὁ) ζῶν zu nennen; es ist in der vii 2 begegnenden Anwendung urchristlich verbreitet (Matth., Act., Paulus, Hebr., 1 Petr.) und aus dem Alten Testament übernommen (Deut. v 26; Jos. iii 10; 1 Sam. xvii 36; 2 Kön. xix 4, 16; Hos. ii 1; Ps. xlii [xli] 3; lxxxiv [lxxxiii] 3, immer für *chaj*) [1]. Häufiger ist in Apc. eine geprägtere Form, die in iv 9 f. eingeführt wird, beidemale neben der vorhin besprochenen Partizipialbezeichnung Gottes. In x 6 geht sie mit einigem Kontext auf Dan. xii 7 zurück, wo sich eine etwas kürzere Fassung findet, die in Dan. auch sonst begegnet (iv 31; nicht LXX), und aus Dan. ist die Bezeichnung wohl dem Apokalyptiker zunächst zugekommen. Sie gehört aber in kürzerer Form überhaupt dem Judentum dieser Zeit an; wir lesen sie auch Sir. xviii 1 (hier als Ersatz des Gottesnamens) und Tob. xiii 2 BA: ὁ θεὸς ὁ ζῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (S und Sir. xviii 1 singularisch) [2]. Inhaltlich mag sie mit dem Hofstil zusammenhängen, der wiederum bei Dan. deutlich wird (ii 4; iii 9 usw.); er ist tatsächlich alt [3]. Der Sache nach ist auch die ausdrückliche Aussage, dass Gott ewig „lebt", im Alten Testament weit älter als Dan. (im Eid Gottes: Deut. xxxii 40). Wenn der Apokalyptiker die Benennung erweitert, so geschieht das in einer seiner Zeit geläufigen Weise [4].

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[1] Zu inschriftlichem und anderem Material s. PETERSON 42 f.

[2] Philon redet dagegen von dem ζῶν ἀεὶ θεός, decal. 67.

[3] 1 Kön. i 31; vgl. KLAUSER 217 f.

[4] In LXX ist εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων noch selten, in einem kanonischen Text m.W. nur Ps. lxxxiv (lxxxiii) 5, dann Tob. xiv 15S und 4 Macc. xviii 24, immer mit beiden Artikeln (αἰών im Plural allein, ohne folgenden Genetiv, findet sich sehr oft in Tob. Dan., gelegentlich in Pss., Sap., Sir., 1 Esr.; εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος, ohne oder mit Artikeln, sehr häufig im Psalter, sonst nur Tob. vi 17 BA; Sus. 63; Dan. xii 3; der Singular mit zugesetztem Genetiv im Plural öfters in Dan.; die Fassung in Apc. stellt die letzte Stufe der Steigerung dar). Die doppelt pluralische Form findet sich z.B. Gal. i 5; Phil. iv 20, im Neuen Testament ausserhalb Apc. immerhin nur 8mal, in Apc. 13mal! Apc. hat αἰών überhaupt nur in dieser Wendung, lediglich xiv 11 ohne die Artikel. Ein Vergleich mit den heidnischen Formeln bei PETERON 169 f. zeigt, dass die meisten der in LXX häufiger verwandten (hier nicht alle genannten) heidnische Parallelen haben (allerdings nicht für den zugesetzten Genitiv).

Sachlich erscheint die Gottesbezeichnung an hervorragenden Punkten der Apc., wenn auch nicht in gottesdienstlichen Stücken. In iv 9 f. unterstreicht sie (schon durch die Wiederholung) auch ihrerseits die Bedeutsamkeit der immerwährenden Anbetung Gottes durch die ,,Wesen" und die Ältesten (die Rufe beider werden auf den mit ihr Bezeichneten bezogen). In x 6 ist die Benennung mit dem Eid des Engels verbunden, der das unaufhaltsame Kommen der im Folgenden geschauten Ereignisse verbürgt, natürlich im Auftrag Gottes, den selbst schwören zu lassen wohl dem Apokalyptiker unmöglich ist. Es ist der einzige Eid in Apc., und er ist ebenso betont wie der in Dan. xii 7 [1]). Wie Apc. x 6 auf die Fülle kommender Geschehnisse vorweist, so ist xv 7 Auftakt zu der Ausgiessung der sieben Schalen; der in alle Ewigkeit lebende Gott ist der richtend Strafende.

Natürlich ist es nicht ohne christologische Bedeutung, dass dieser Gottesname auch auf den Menschensohn-Ähnlichen übertragen werden kann, zumal das in i 18 innerhalb der Selbstvorstellung der geheimnisvollen Gestalt geschieht (ἐγώ εἰμι V. 17). Immerhin ist nicht zu übersehen, dass es sich um eine Aussage in einem Prädikatssatz handelt, nicht um eine substantivierende Verwendung, und dass diese Aussage im Gegensatz zu dem (einmaligen) Sterben des Christus steht. Eine völlige Gleichstellung mit Gott soll durch die Anwendung der Formel kaum ausgesagt werden, auch wenn sonst das eine und andere Prädikat in Apc. sowohl Christus wie Gott zugesprochen wird.

Neben der eben besprochenen alttestamentlich belegten enthält die Apc. auch eine dreigliedrige zeitbezogene Gottesbezeichnung. In der vollen Form begegnet sie nur im Briefgruss i 4, für den man u.U. zunächst die Benutzung einer Formel des irdischen Gottesdienstes annehmen könnte (zumal sie hier als einziger Gottesname erscheint), in dem unmittelbaren Wort Gottes i 8 und im Zusammenhang des Trishagion iv 8, in einer auf zwei Glieder verkürzten Fassung in dem Dankgebet xi 17 (hier wie in iv 8 mit dem dreinominalen Gottesnamen verbunden) und in der konstatierenden Akklamation des über die Wasser gesetzten Engels xvi 5. Die dreigliedrige Fassung der Gott in der Zeitbeziehung kennzeichnenden partizipialen [2]) Benennung schliesst nicht mit der Aussage der zukünftigen (unendlichen) Existenz Gottes 1), sondern betont, dass er der künftig (eschatologisch) Handelnde 2), in Gericht und Rettung handelnd sich Offenbarende ist. Lässt sich etwas über den geistesgeschichtlichen Hintergrund dieser Gottesbezeichnung sagen?

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[1]) Offenbar greift Apc. x 6 auch inhaltlich auf Dan. xii 7 zurück, steigert aber dessen Aussage: ist in Dan. beschworen, dass nach einer festgesetzten Zeit das Ende kommt, so in Apc., dass keine Frist mehr vergeht.

[2]) ὁ ἦν ist ja grammatisch Ersatz für das Partizip der Vergangenheit.

Der dreifach zeitbezogene Gottesname der Apc. hat zwar auch gewisse griechische bzw. hellenistische Parallelen 3). Aber näher stehen ihm sachlich und sprachlich die jüdischen. Sind sie auch noch nicht ohne weiteres auf die Zeit des Apokalyptikers zu datieren 4), so sind sie doch so bemerkenswert, dass sie hier nicht übergangen werden können. In Ex. Rabba iii (69c) ist Ex. iii 14 in eine dreigliedrige Aussage umgestaltet 5): „Gott sprach zu Mose: Sage ihnen: Ich bin, der ich war, und ich bin jetzt und ich bin inskünftig" 6). Diese Deutung des *äh^{e}jä* 7) von Ex. iii 14 wird in Ex. Rabba iii begründet mit dem dreimaligen Vorkommen des Wortes im Urtext. Nun bleibt die dreigliedrige zeitliche Gottesbezeichnung nicht auf die Exegese von Ex. iii 14 beschränkt 8); sie wird auch in Deut. xxxii 39 eingetragen 9), und zwar — in

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1) Apc. kennt das Futur von ειναι wenigstens im Indikativ; vgl. formal und sachlich ὁ ζῶν εἰς τούς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

2) ἔρχομαι bezieht sich auf Gottes bzw. des Christus Handeln im Gericht ii 5, 16; iii 11, insbesondere im Endgericht, aber auch überhaupt in der Parusie xvi 15; xxii 7, 12, 17, 20.

3) Vgl. Fr. Büchsel, *ThWbzNT* II, 397 (die Stellen z.T. schon bei Wettstein zu Apc. i 4); *ebd.* weitere Literatur.

4) Vgl. immerhin Ad. Schlatter, *Das Alte Testament in der johanneischen Apokalypse* (1912), 12, Anm. 3.

5) Schlatter, *a.a.O.*, 12, bietet auch hier eine Übersetzung ins Griechische; missverständlich die deutsche bei Str.-Billerbeck III, 750.

6) In „ich bin" sind beide Wörter betont, hebr. *'^{a}ni hu'*, Schlatter ἐγώ εἰμι. In Apc. vgl. besonders i 8!

7) Zur Diskussion über das Verständnis des masoretischen Textes s. etwa G. Quell, *ThWbzNT* III, 1069-72. Vgl. neuerdings z.B. E. Schild, „I am that I am", *Vetus Testamentum* 4 (1954), 296-302; für die futurische Deutung setzt sich ein L. M. Pákozdy, . . . Die Deutung des *jhwh*-Namens in Exodus iii 14, *Judaica* 11 (1955), 193-208: Gott verspricht sein wirksames Kommen (204) — eben das also, was Apc., natürlich nun im eschatologischen Verständnis, mit ὁ ἐρχόμενος meint!

8) Targum Onqelos hat sie weder Ex. iii 14 noch Deut. xxxii 39. M. Ginsburger will sie zu Ex. iii 14 in seiner Ausgabe des Pseudo-Jonathan (1903) für dessen ursprünglichen Text wiederherstellen.

9) Deut. xxxii spielt im jüdischen Gottesdienst längere Zeit vor der Abfassung der Apc. eine Rolle, wie bestimmte Erweiterungen in LXX und einem Qumrantext besonders zu V. 43 wahrscheinlich machen; s. zu diesem P. W. Skehan, A Fragment of the „Song of Moses" (Deut. xxxii) from Qumran, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 136 (1954), 12-15. Deut. xxxii 4, 40, 43 wird vom Apokalyptiker in xv 4; x 5; vi 10; xix 2 verwertet!

anderer Reihenfolge der Glieder — im Targum Jeruschalmi I (Pseudo-Jonathan): ,,Ich bin, der ich bin" (Partizip) ,,und war, und ich bin [1]), der ich sein werde" [2]). Die Parallelität dieser Stellen zur Apc. ist auffallend [3]): Nicht nur begegnen hier beide Anordnungen der drei Glieder, die erste in iv 8, die zweite in i 4, 8 (ausserhalb des himmlischen Gottesdienstes). Sondern dem Partizip im Targum entspricht das Partizip in Apc. (ὁ ὤν) [4]); der Vergangenheitsform im Targum das Imperfekt in Apc.; dem Adjektiv mit Infinitiv (eigentlich: künftig, zu sein = ich werde [künftig] sein) das Partizip des Futurs. Natürlich ist dieWahl des Imperfekts in Apc. auch darin begründet, dass ein die Vergangenheit bezeichnendes Partizip von ,,sein" nicht vorlag. Und natürlich hängt weder die Apc. von Targum ab, noch gilt das Umgekehrte. Aber die Möglichkeit sollte nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass beide eine gemeinsame Überlieferung benutzen, die vom Apokalyptiker nur im dritten Glied inhaltlich umgeprägt ist [5]). Zumindest zeigt die Parallele, dass die zeitbezogene Gottesbezeichnung der Apc. sprachlich semitischen Hintergrund hat.

Natürlich wird ihre ungriechische Art vollends erhärtet durch das dritte, das eschatologische Glied. Inhaltlich ist dieses ὁ ἐρχόμενος ja zu verstehen von Aussagen wie Jes. xl 10; xxxv 4; Sach. ii 14 (dazu vgl. Apc. xxi 3) her, die vom eschatologischen Kommen Gottes reden. Wenn der Wegfall der futurischen Aussage in xi 17; xvi 5 darin begründet ist, dass Gott nun nicht mehr nur ,,kommen wird", sondern da ist [1]), darin also, dass Gott mit dem Eintreten der Endereignisse bereits im Kommen ist, dann wird mit eben diesem Wegfall deutlich, dass für den Apokalyptiker das Gewicht des futurischen Teils der dreigliedrigen Gottesaussage auf dem bevorstehenden Aktivwerden Gottes liegt. Der Gedanke der Ewigkeit Gottes überhaupt ist vom Apokalyptiker mit der Bezeichnung Gottes als dessen, „der lebt in alle Ewigkeit", genugsam herausgehoben. Für seine Gegenwart kommt es ihm vor allem darauf an zu betonen, dass Gott der alsbald Handelnde [2]) ist, und dass er seine Macht durchsetzt, die Macht, die ihm gehört (xi 17). Um dieses letzten Gedankens willen ist für den Apokalyptiker auch die gleich zu besprechende dreinominale Gottesbezeichnung besonders gewichtig.

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[1]) Diese Wiederholung des Ich bin ist durch die Verdoppelung des Ich im hebräischen Text veranlasst (*ʾᵃni ʾᵃni huʾ*).

[2]) Missverständlich Str.-Billerbeck III, 788; vgl. vielmehr Eth. Stauffer, *Jesus* (1957), 168, Anm. 59; zu *ʾᵃni huʾ* (bzw. aramäisch *ʾᵃna huʾ*) überhaupt *ebd.* 132-36.

[3]) Wie verbreitet überhaupt die Neigung ist, alle drei Zeitformen in die Gottesaussage näher bestimmend einzubeziehen, zeigt Targ. Jeruschalmi II (Fragmenten-Targum) zu Ex. iii 14 (ich danke die Wiedergabe der Stelle Dr. K. von Rabenau): ,,Und die Stimme des (Namens) sprach zu Mose: Dieser ist, der zur Welt von Anfang an gesprochen hat: Es ist, der da ist; und der künftig zu ihr sprechen wird: Es ist, der da ist". Hier ist, bei präsentischem Verständnis des hebräischen Textes, die Vergangenheits- und Zukunftsaussage in den Rahmen des entscheidenden Prädikates eingefügt, der nun aber auch zum Gotteswort gehört.

[4]) Es bedarf also zur Erklärung dieses Partizips in Apc. nicht des Rückganges auf die LXX.

[5]) Lag ihm für dieses eine sprachliche Fassung vor wie die in Ex. Rabba iii, *ʾᵃni huʿ läʿatid laboʾ*, so ergab die blosse Streichung des *lä* vor *ʿatid* die Bedeutung: ich bin, der kommen wird.

IV. PANTOKRATOR

Das Trishagion der Apc. [3]) ist neben i 8 das einzige Stück der Apc., das die dreiteilige zeitbezogene Gottesbezeichnung mit der dreigliedrigen nominalen zusammenordnet [4]). Die Aufnahme des Dreimalheilig selbst [5]) ist in Apc. iv zunächst einfach dadurch veranlasst, dass (ausser Ez. i) Jes. vi die Vision stark beeinflusst hat — die Schauung von Jes. vi als ganze ist offenbar für den Apokalyptiker hochbedeutsam. Die in Jes. vi 3 gebrauchte Gottesbezeichnung genügt ihm jedoch nicht (hier liest man nur Jahwe Zebaoth); er füllt sie auf zu einer dreinominalen Wendung; indem er ausserdem die schon behandelte dreigliedrige zeitbezogene Gottesbezeichnung anfügt, kommt er zu drei dreigeteilten Rufen. Mit dem erweiterten Trishagion, so sagt der Apokalyptiker, geben die vier ,,Wesen" Gott δόξα und Ehre und Dank (iv 9); mit diesen Vokabeln bezeichnet er offenbar das Wesen des himmlischen Gottesdienstes überhaupt. Dieser gibt Gott das, was ihm eigen ist; im Gottesdienst wird Gottes Herrlichkeit und Ruhm und der ihm (zunächst als dem Schöpfer, iv 11) gebührende Dank realisiert.

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[1]) Vgl. Lohmeyer zu xi 17.

[2]) Vgl. Ex. Rabba iii (69c) zu Ex. iii 14: „*ʾähᵉjä ʾᵃschär ʾähᵉjä* d.h. nach meinen Taten werde ich genannt".

[3]) Luc. Mowry schreibt nicht nur Apc. iv 8 dem irdischen Gottesdienst des Apokalyptikers zu; sie meint, in Apc. iv f. die früheste uns bekannte Form christlichen Gottesdienstes überhaupt vor sich zu haben: Revelation iv-v and Early Christian Liturgical Usage, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 71 (1952), 75-84. — Wie das Trishagion in die christliche Liturgie überging, ist ungeklärt; vgl. die Literaturhinweise bei Klauser 230, Nr. 17. Dass der Verf. der Apc. es im irdischen Gottesdienst vorfand, ist durch die Verwendung in iv 8 nicht nahegelegt. Zu 1 Clem. xxxiv 6 s. W. C. van Unnik, 1 Clement xxxiv and the „Sanctus", *Vigiliae Christianae* 5 (1951), 204-248. Vgl. ferner Werner 294, 297.

[4]) Die dreigliedrige nominale Gottesbezeichnung findet sich dann Const. Apost. VIII 5, 1 (als einziger Stelle in den Apostolischen Konstitutionen aus der Vielzahl der im Register der Ausgabe Funk für παντοκράτωρ angeführten); hier ist sie mit ὁ ὤν verbunden (nicht mit der dreigliedrigen Formel). Unmittelbar aus Apc. dürfte diese Zusammenstellung nicht stammen.

[5]) Die Heiligkeitsaussage wird in Apc. von Gott nur vi 10 gemacht; von Christus iii 7.

Die Gottesnamen im Mittelteil des Rufes der ,,Wesen" werden in Apc. gerade siebenmal in dieser Zusammenstellung gegeben [1]) (ohne κύριος xvi 14; xix 15). Begegnet παντοκράτωρ überhaupt im Neuen Testament sonst nur an einer Stelle [2]), so handelt es sich dort gerade um ein alttestamentliches Zitat; auf jeden Fall weist die Verbindung κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ auf das Alte Testament zurück, in dessen griechischer Übersetzung παντοκράτωρ besonders in einer Schriftengruppe begegnet, die einen bestimmten Einfluss auf die Apc. ausgeübt hat [1]. Auf die LXX und ihr Verhältnis zum Urtext müssen wir hier deshalb eingehen, weil παντοκράτωρ dort nicht die alleinige Übersetzung von Zebaoth ist.

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[1]) In i 8 ist sie merkwürdig auf Gotteswort und Bezeichnung des Sprechenden verteilt, aber wohl trotzdem, und obgleich auch noch die zeitbestimmte dreiteilige Gottesbezeichnung dazwischengeschoben ist, als Einheit empfunden worden; παντοκράτωρ steht in Apc. nie allein. Apc. i 8 ist in der jetzigen Stellung natürlich kein Stück des himmlischen Gottesdienstes (und auch nicht aus dem irdischen übernommen), sondern eine Offenbarungsaussage, wie sie im Alten Testament öfters begegnet, aber jeweils in einer konkreten Situation, die in Apc. i 8 fehlt. Das Wort in die Vision von Kap. iv hineinzustellen, in die es in bestimmtem Sinne gut passte, hat der Verf. wohl nicht gewagt. i 8 verbindet mit den beiden dreiteiligen Gottesnamen einen dritten, der nur den Rahmenstücken der Apc. angehört (A Ω)

[2]) Auch Philon gebraucht παντοκράτωρ selten; Leisegang notiert es nur für gig. 64; sacr. Ab. 63, an der letzten Stelle in einem in etwa an Apc iv 8 f. erinnernden Zusammenhang: πρὸς οὖν εὐχαριστίαν καὶ τιμὴν τοῦ παντοκράτορος εὔζωνοι ... ἀεὶ γινώμεθα (in der Deutung der Passa-Anordnung von Ex. xii 11). Josephus verwendet παντοκράτωρ nicht (Ad Schlatter, *Theologie des Judentums* [1932] 26), der Aristeasbrief nur in § 185, in Hexapla ist es lediglich für Jer. v 22; xxxii (xxxix) 15 bei Theodotion bezeugt; es fehlt in den Testamenten der zwölf Patriarchen. Bei W. Bousset H. Gressmann, *Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*³ (1926) 312, Anm. 2, wird zwar eine Fülle von Belegen für παντοκράτωρ in Apc. Bar angeführt; aber an der ersten Stelle, vi 8, hat der griechische Text ,,ἰσχυρός nicht, wie zu vermuten war, παντοκράτωρ" (Br. Violet, *Die Apokalypsen des Esra und des Baruch* [1924], 211 z.St.), ebenso xiii 2; Violet übersetzt regelmässig ,,Starker" bezw. ,,Gewaltiger" (in 4 Esra 7mal, in Apc. Bar 48mal, Violet Reg. s.v. Gott). Dass ἰσχυρός Wiedergabe von Zebaoth ist hat wenig für sich (Violet 70 nennt bei seinen Erwägungen über das griechische Äquivalent diese Möglichkeit gar nicht). Das alles entspricht de geringen Häufigkeit des Wortes im heidnischen Bereich (vgl. W. Michaelis *ThWbzNT* III, 913 f.). Um so auffallender ist der aufgezeigte Befund i LXX, dem noch zuzufügen ist, dass sich παντοκράτωρ öfters in 2, 3 Macc findet, die vermutlich beide nach Alexandria gehören (vgl. O. Eissfeldt *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*² [1956] 720 f.).

Das Verhältnis zwischen hebräischem Text und LXX ist sowohl hinsichtlich des Vorkommens von Zebaoth [2] wie hinsichtlich seiner Wiedergabe ausserordentlich verwickelt [3], dadurch freilich auch über das spezielle Problem hinaus besonders lehrreich für die Beziehungen zwischen beiden überhaupt. In der Literatur ist die Frage nach dem Verhältnis von Zebaoth und seinen Äquivalenten schon von verschiedenen Seiten angegangen [4]; hier genügt es, im ganzen die für das Folgende wichtigsten Tatbestände herauszuheben. Wir müssen z.T. etwas allgemein formulieren, weil Genaueres sich weithin nur durch den jeweiligen Vergleich beider Texte für alle 279 [5] Stellen des Alten Testaments erheben liesse, an denen Zebaoth vorkommt. Der grösste Teil der alttestamentlichen Belege für Zebaoth ist berücksichtigt [6]; es ergibt sich für die Propheten (und den Psalter; in Geschichtsbüchern kommt Zebaoth nur 17mal vor) deutlich die Bevorzugung bestimmter Wiedergaben [7] in bestimmten Schriften bzw. Schriftengruppen.

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[1] Ez. und Dan., die besonders stark auf Apc. eingewirkt haben, fallen aus, da in ihnen Zebaoth nicht vorkommt.

[2] Wir behalten die geläufige Schreibung bei. Über Entstehungsgeschichte und Gehalt des Namens vgl. O. Eissfeldt, Jahwe Zebaoth, *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia* II, 2 (1950), 128-150, dessen Interpretation der Bezeichnung auch für das Verständnis von παντοκράτωρ in Apc. bedeutsam zu werden vermag. Eissfeldt hebt 142-148 die Verbindung zwischen den Namen Zebaoth und „Keruben-Throner" heraus, 1 Sam. iv 4; 2 Sam. vi 2; vgl. oben.

[3] Nach Wambacq (s. nächste Anm.) 59 differieren LXX und masoretischer Text an 108 von 285 Stellen.

[4] Will. R. Arnold, Ephod and Ark, *Harvard Theol. Studies* 3 (1917), 147 f.; Wolf Wilh. Graf Baudissin, *Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum* . . . II (1929) 74-77 usw.; B. N. Wambacq, *L'épithète divine Jahvé Sᵉba'ôt* (1947) 59-97, der aber vor allem nach dem Ergebnis für den hebräischen Text fragt.

[5] Nach L. Koehler-W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros* (1953), 791; Wambacq, *a.a.O.*, 59: 285 Stellen. Sie verteilen sich, wie auch aus dem Folgenden erkennbar wird, recht ungleichmässig auf die verschiedenen Schriften des Alten Testaments (vgl. die Statistik bei Koehler-Baumgartner, *a.a.O.*); cf. W. Kessler, Aus welchen Gründen wird die Bezeichnung „Jahwe Zebaoth" in der späteren Zeit gemieden?, *Wiss. Zeitschr. Univ. Halle*, Ges.-Sprachw. Reihe 7 (1958), 767-772.

[6] Wir erheben den Befund für den gegebenen masoretischen Text.

[7] Ganz rund gerechnet mag sich aus dem angezogenen Material ungefähr ergeben, dass Zebaoth in den uns gegebenen Texten in etwa einem Fünftel der Fälle als transkribiert erscheint, in (mindestens) einem Fünftel fehlt, in nicht einmal einem Zehntel durch τῶν δυνάμεων, in zwei Fünfteln durch παντοκράτωρ wiedergegeben wird (unter dem etwa verbleibenden Zehntel

In Zusammenhängen, wo das Wort Zebaoth im hebräischen Text belegt ist. (1) findet sich Σαβαωθ in unseren Texten besonders in Jes. i-lv, in dessen Septuagintafassung die Transkription durchaus bevorzugt erscheint; daneben an wenigen anderen Stellen, am relativ häufigsten 1 Sam. (4mal; nämlich i 3 für *Jahwe Zebaoth* κύριος θεὸς Σαβαωθ, i 11 für *Jahwe Zebaoth* Αδωναι κύριος Ελωαι Σαβαωθ; nur xv 2 und xvii 45 für *Jahwe Zebaoth*, wie eigentlich zu erwarten, κύριος Σαβαωθ) [1]).

(2) wird Zebaoth z.T. überhaupt nicht wiedergegeben; so steht in Jer. (wo 77mal Zebaoth gelesen wird) etwa 33mal für *Jahwe Zebaoth* des masoretischen Textes (wobei sich für Jahwe z.T. das *Q*^{e}*re Elohim* findet [2])) einfach κύριος: 11mal für *Jahwe Zebaoth Elohe Jisrael* nur κύριος; gelegentlich für *Adonai Jahwe Zebaoth* κύριος, z.B. l (xxvii) 31; selbst die gesamte Bezeichnung *Jahwe Elohe Zebaoth Elohe Jisrael* kann u.U. lediglich durch κύριος wiedergegeben werden, xxxv (xlii) 17; xxxviii (xlv) 17. Auch in Jes. wird mitunter *Jahwe Zebaoth* durch blosses κύριος ersetzt, viii 13; ix 12, 18; xix 17, 18, 20; xxiv 23. Hätten die LXX an allen Stellen, wo Zebaoth nicht wiedergegeben wird, das Wort nicht gelesen [3]), so wäre merkwürdigerweise gerade der hebräische Jer., und zwar nachdem die Septuaginta-Übersetzung für Jer. hergestellt war, besonders mit Einfügungen von Zebaoth durchsetzt worden.

(3) wird Zebaoth durch τῶν δυνάμεων (durch τῶν στρατιῶν in LXX nur in einzelnen Handschriften [4])) wiedergegeben: regelmässig im Psalter (8mal κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων für *Jahwe Zebaoth*, 7mal θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων für *Elohim* [5]) *Zebaoth*), gelegentlich auch im Dodekapropheton: Zeph. ii 9; Sach. vii 4 (i 3 v.l.) [6]), ferner Jer. xxxiii (xl) 12; 2 Sam. vi 2, 18; 1 Kön. xviii 15; 2 Kön.

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mögen sich gerade Stellen befinden, an denen ein Äquivalent zu Zebaoth in LXX nicht vorhanden ist, z.B. Jes. x 23, 26, wo nur θεός für *Jahwe Zebaoth* steht, oder iii 15; xxii 14, wo die Gottesbezeichnung in LXX überhaupt fehlt, Wambacq, 77f., zu Jer. *ebd.* 85).

[1]) Arnold 147 (vgl. Wambacq 63, 81, 91 auch für Dodekapropheton) vermutet, dass in Jes. und 1 Sam. *Jahwe Zebaoth* ursprünglich nur durch κύριος wiedergegeben war (s.u. zu Jer.) und Σαβαωθ nachträglich vom hebräischen Text her eingefügt wurde; er verweist auf 1 Sam. i 11, wo zu κύριος nachträglich das *Q*^{e}*re* ελωε (so B) σαβαωθ gesetzt worden sei. 1 Sam. i 11 ist in der Tat die einzige Stelle in LXX mit stärker bezeugtem Αδωναι (sonst nach Hatch-Redpath [s. Anm. 2] nur in Ez., vor allem bei A; Genaueres Baudissin, *a.a.O.*, I [1929], 527 ff.); *Elohim* ist in LXX überhaupt nur 1 Sam. i 11 transkribiert.

[2]) Nach E. Hatch-H. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint* II (1897); dort werden diese Fälle nicht gesondert angegeben. Zebaoth findet sich im hebräischen Text gewöhnlich in der Verbindung *Jahwe Zebaoth* (240mal nach Wambacq 55; ausserdem 15mal *Adonai Jahwe Zebaoth*, usw.; wir haben diese Erweiterungen nur dort besonders gewertet, wo es für unsere Fragestellung angebracht schien).

[3]) Vgl. Eissfeldt, *Jahwe Zebaoth* (S. 129, Anm. 2) 149. Arnold 147 nimmt dagegen an, dass der Übersetzer des Jer. im hebräischen Text Zebaoth vorfand.

[4]) Für Aquila ist diese Wiedergabe von Zebaoth 10mal belegt; öfter setzt er jedoch δυνάμεων (16mal gemeinsam mit Theodotion). Symmachus hat selten στρατιῶν für Zebaoth (häufig δυνάμεων, 19mal gemeinsam mit Theodotion), „andere" griechische Übersetzungen in 1 Sam. xv 2; Am. iii 13.

[5]) So ausser lxxxix 9.

[6]) An diesen 3 Stellen hat Ziegler (Septuag. Gotting.) τῶν δυνάμεων nicht in den Text aufgenommen, ebenso nicht an der folgenden.

iii 14; xix 31 (*Qᵉre*), sämtlich κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων für *Jahwe Zebaoth*, sodass die Übersetzung von Zebaoth durch τῶν δυνάμεων in LXX in allen Fällen mitsamt dem nomen regens eine genaue Entsprechung von hebräischem und griechischem Text zeigt[1]).

(4) bevorzugt das Zwölfprophetenbuch weitaus παντοκράτωρ. So entspricht bei Am. (wo Zebaoth 10mal begegnet) dem Zebaoth 7mal παντοκράτωρ; in iv 13; v 14 f., 27 wird *Jahwe Elohe Zebaoth* wiedergegeben durch κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, iii 13 und v 16 fehlt ein ausserdem im masoretischen Text vorhandenes *Adonai*, ix 5 wird *Adonai* durch κύριος wiedergegeben und *Jahwe* im masoretischen Text gelesen als *Elohim*; so ergibt sich an allen 7 Stellen die Formulierung κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Hos. hat Zebaoth nur xii 6, Mi. nur iv 4, Hab. nur ii 13, Nah. nur ii 14; iii 5; an allen diesen Stellen findet sich παντοκράτωρ. Zeph. hat 2mal Zebaoth, in ii 10 παντοκράτωρ (zu ii 9 s. oben). Hagg. hat 14mal Zebaoth, an allen Stellen παντοκράτωρ. Sach. hat in den 53 Belegen für Zebaoth weit überwiegend παντοκράτωρ. Entsprechendes gilt für Mal. (24mal Zebaoth). Ferner ist an rund ein Dutzend Stellen in Jer. παντοκράτωρ zu lesen, in denen sich Zebaoth findet. Schliesslich sind die Geschichtsbücher zu nennen: 2 Sam. v 10; 1 Kön. xix 10, 14 κύριος παντοκράτωρ für *Jahwe Elohe Zebaoth* (es fehlt θεός); 2 Sam. vii 8, (26 v.l.), 27; 1 Chron. xi 9; xvii 7 (vgl. 24) κύριος παντοκράτωρ korrekt für *Jahwe Zebaoth*[2]).

Einigemale ist im Zwölfprophetenbuch, gelegentlich auch in Jer. und in Geschichtsbüchern παντοκράτωρ ohne hebräisches Äquivalent vorhanden, z.T. nur in bestimmten Handschriften, niemals aber[3]) in Schriften, die παντοκράτωρ sonst nicht gebrauchen (mit Ausnahme von Esth. iv 17b, wo es aber nur als v.l. zu πάντων κρατῶν[4]) begegnet, das in LXX sonst nirgends erscheint; παντοκρατῶν, offenbar ad hoc gebildet, nur v.l. zu Sach. viii 2, 6).

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[1]) Nach ARNOLD 148 wäre die Übersetzung von Zebaoth durch τῶν δυνάμεων erst mit Theodotion entstanden und von da in Stellen der LXX eingedrungen, an denen Jahwe Zebaoth nur mit κύριος wiedergegeben war. Merkwürdigerweise ist freilich für Theodotion und LXX nur an einer Stelle der gemeinsame Gebrauch von δυνάμεων belegt, Ps. lxix (lxviii) 7. Für Theodotion ist die Übersetzung von Zebaoth mit δυνάμεων ausserdem 1 Sam. i 3 erhalten sowie 28mal in Jer. und 11mal in Jes. Nach der Vermutung ARNOLDS müsste man annehmen, dass entsprechend *Elohim Zebaoth* im Psalter nur durch θεός wiedergegeben war, und dass dieser systematisch auf eine Ergänzung durch ein Äquivalent von Zebaoth durchgesehen wurde, während diese in anderen Schriften nur gelegentlich erfolgte. WAMBACQ 93 hält die Ursprünglichkeit von τῶν δυνάμεων im Psalter denn auch für gewiss, für 2 Kön. für wahrscheinlich (dagegen sonst für sekundär, 93 f.).

[2]) Nicht festzustellen ist das Verhältnis zum hebräischen Text für Judith (5mal παντοκράτωρ) und Bar. iii 1, 4. Der Gebrauch des Wortes in Sir. geht nirgends auf Zebaoth zurück (der hebräische Text ist zu allen 3 Stellen erhalten; zu ihnen vgl. WAMBACQ 94-96). Dass in Hiob παντοκράτωρ Übersetzung für *Schaddai* ist, ist für Apc. ohne Belang. — παντοκράτωρ hält ARNOLD 148 für eine genuine Septuaginta-Übersetzung. So ergäbe sich für die ursprüngliche Wiedergabe von Zebaoth in LXX: meist wurde das Wort überhaupt nicht berücksichtigt, im übrigen durch παντοκράτωρ übersetzt (etwas anders WAMBACQ, s. Anm. 1; S. 130, Anm. 1).

[3]) Soweit HATCH-REDPATH darüber Auskunft geben. — Vgl. WAMBACQ 92.

[4]) Heidnische Parallelen für diese Wendung bei MICHAELIS, *ThWbzNT* III. 914, Z. 1 f.!

In Apc. lesen wir παντοκράτωρ 9mal, 2mal in einer zweigliedrigen Gottesbezeichnung (xvi 14; xix 15) im Genetiv, 7mal in der vollen Fassung κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ im Nominativ bzw. Vokativ (so 3mal). Diese Fassung (mit Artikel vor den Attributen [1]) begegnet in LXX nur im Dodekapropheton: an allen 7 Zebaoth-Stellen in Am. (s. oben), ferner Hos. xii 6; Nah. iii 5; Sach. x 3 [2]). Ihre genaue Entsprechung hat diese dreigliedrige Form im hebräischen Text an den 6 angegebenen Stellen bei Am. und in Hos. xii 6 [3]). Eine eigene Übersetzung für *Jahwe Elohe Zebaoth* stellt die dreigliedrige nominale Gottesbezeichnung in Apc. nach diesem gesamten Befund offenbar nicht dar; sie ist vom Apokalyptiker (oder Früheren) als die seines Erachtens beste oder einfach als die ihm geläufige übernommen.

Zum Gebrauch des Artikels in dieser Benennung ist ein Wort zu sagen. Er fehlt vor κύριος, weil das Wort den Charakter eines Eigennamens erhält [4]). In der Verbindung κύριος ὁ θεός als Wiedergabe von *Jahwe Elohim* ist er in LXX weithin üblich und so verfestigt, dass κύριος ὁ θεός nicht ganz selten auch dort gesetzt ist wo der masoretische Text nur *eine* Gottesbezeichnung hat. κύριος ist dabei offenbar wiederum als Eigenname empfunden worden dem ὁ θεός als Apposition zugefügt ist; in den den LXX zeitgenössischen Papyri fehlt der Artikel bei dem dem Namen nachgesetzten θεός [5]). In κύριος ὁ θεός wird dann in LXX vermutlich die Einzigartigkeit Gottes betont [6]). Die Wiederholung des Artikels bei den zweiten Epitheton der dreigliedrigen Formel ist besonders auffallend 1), zumal in der Zusammenstellung κύριος παντοκράτωρ, die gerade im Dodekapropheton sehr häufig ist, der Artikel regelmässig 2) fehlt 3). Diese Wiederholung steigert noch einmal den monotheistischen Gedanken: Der Genannte ist der Allherrscher schlechthin. Die Verwendung dieser besonderen, sehr geprägten Form des dreigliedrigen Gottesnamens in Dodekapropheton *und* Apc. ist nicht zu übersehen.

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[1]) Vor κύριος — aber von diesem getrennt — steht bei der dreigliedrigen Formel in Apc. xxi 22 der Artikel aus stilistischen Gründen, ganz wie in Hos. xii 6 (ὁ δὲ κύριος; vgl. allgemein BAUDISSIN, *a.a.O.*, I, 443).

[2]) Eine andere Anordnung der drei Bezeichnungen findet sich in LXX nur 2 Sam. vii 27; 1 Chron. xvii 24: κύριος παντοκράτωρ θεὸς Ισραηλ, bzw Hagg. i 14; Sach. xii 5 κύριος παντοκράτωρ θεὸς αὐτῶν, ist also durch di Zufügung von „Israels" bzw. „ihr" bedingt (entsprechend dem hebräischen Text).

[3]) Die dreigliedrige hebräische Fassung findet sich auch noch an anderen Stellen (nach WAMBACQ, *a.a.O.*, 55, ist sie im ganzen 18mal belegt, ein schliesslich *Jahwe Elohim Zebaoth* in Pss.), z.B. 2 Sam. v 10; 1 Kön. xi 10, 14; Jer. v 14 (W. EICHRODT, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* I⁴ [1950], 8 Anm. 4); an diesen vier Stellen wird sie mit κύριος παντοκράτωρ wiedergegeben (hier ist also *Elohe* nicht übersetzt).

[4]) BLASS-DEBRUNNER § 254, 1. Zu LXX vgl. BAUDISSIN *a.a.O.*, I (1929 442-449; hier fehlt der Artikel beim Nominativ von κύριος fast ausnahmslo in Pentateuch und Nebiim.

[5]) MAYSER II 2, 4; dagegen steht er besonders bei nachgesetztem κύριο *ebd.* 5, und unterstreicht wohl das Epitheton.

[6]) Das widerspricht zumindest nicht der Beobachtung BAUDISSIN

Und nun wird an einer der angezogenen Stellen bei Am. (iv 13) von der Gottesbezeichnung *Jahwe Elohe Zebaoth* betont festgestellt: (das) ist sein (Jahwes) Name! 4) Tatsächlich hat in Apc. der Name Gottes besondere Bedeutung als der, der gefürchtet (xi 18), verherrlicht (xv 4), gelästert wird (xvi 9); und jeweils vorher (in deutlichem Zusammenhang jedenfalls xi 17; xv 3) ist die dreigliedrige nominale Gottesbezeichnung gebraucht. Natürlich hat diese Ausdrucksweise ihre Vorgeschichte besonders im Alten Testament; in ihr tritt ein Stück weit „Name" für Gott selbst ein, weil der Name zum Wesen des Benannten gehört 5). Welche Rolle der Name Gottes in Apc. überhaupt spielt, zeigt iii 12 (Name Gottes, Christi, des neuen Jerusalem); xiv 1 (vgl. xxii 4). Kann man zu iii 12 für den gemeinten Namen des Christus auf Grund der sonstigen Aussagen eine bestimmte Vermutung äussern 6), so auch für den Namen Gottes; und zwar liegt es nahe, an den siebenmal verwendeten „Herr, Gott, Allherscher" zu denken 7), der im Gottesdienst der Apc. eine so bedeutende Rolle spielt. Wird er doch in der Selbstaussage Gottes in i 8 von ihm gebraucht, von den vier Wesen in der Abänderung des jesajanischen Trishagion iv 8, den

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(*a.a.O.* I, 441 f.), dass in Pentateuch und Nebiim θεός mit Artikel „den einen Gott Israels" bezeichnet. Mit Artikel gebraucht auch Apc. θεός regelmässig.

1) Mayser, *a.a.O.* 4 f. 105 gibt dafür keine Beispiele (seine Sammlung will allerdings nicht vollzählig sein, 6, nennt aber doch eine Menge variierender Zusammenstellungen), wohl aber für den Wegfall des Artikels.

2) Er steht bei beiden Substantiven Zeph. ii 10 beim Akkusativ.

3) Vgl. auch S. 132. Anm. 2, Dagegen Bar. iii 1, 4 κύριε παντοκράτωρ ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ.

4) Mit Nachdruck wird die Bezeichnung auch Hos. xii 6 gebraucht.

5) Vgl. zum ganzen Problem etwa H. Bietenhard, *ThWbzNT* V, 255, 257, 260.

6) Lohmeyer zu Apc. iii 12: das Wort Gottes, wohl nach xix 13; mindestens ebenso wäre als der neue Name der xix 16 angegebene denkbar, der Christus als Machtträger bezeichnet.

7) Von einem neuen Namen Gottes ist in Apc. nicht die Rede, kann auch nach dem Gottesgedanken der Apc. nicht die Rede sein.

Ältesten in dem einzigen Dankgebet der Apc. (xi 17), den Siegern am kristallenen Meer xv 3, der Stimme des „Altars" xvi 7, den Stimmen in dem gewaltigen Schlusschor des himmlischen Gottesdienstes xix 6 — und nur in xxi 22 vom Apokalyptiker [1]). Daneben wäre für den gemeinten Gottesnamen allenfalls noch eine der zeitbezogenen Bezeichnungen zu erwägen; aber die dreigliedrige hat in Apc. zwar für die hoffende Gemeinde grosse Bedeutung, wird jedoch mit dem Eintritt der Endereignisse nicht mehr in der durch das dritte Glied entscheidenden Vollständigkeit gebraucht (letztmalig iv 8), während der den Geretteten aufgeschriebene Gottesname wieder in xiv 1 eine Rolle spielt; und die eingliedrige kommt nun überhaupt nur im darstellenden Text (allenfalls nach der Meinung des Apokalyptikers in dem x 6 erwähnten Eid) vor.

Blicken wir auf die Beobachtungen zurück, die wir an Form und Inhalt der gottesdienstlichen Stücke der Apc. und an ihrer Stellung im Ablauf des apokalyptischen Geschehens machten, so ergibt sich, dass diese Stücke allerdings eine hervorragende Rolle im Ganzen spielen, aber keine selbständige Bedeutung besitzen. Ihre besondere Aufgabe ist es, die apokalyptischen Vorgänge vom Glauben her zu interpretieren, sie als Ereignisse zu deuten, die das Heilshandeln Gottes — durch das Gericht an der Welt hindurch — vollenden.

Eine Ausnahme bilden demgegenüber in dem gesamten Komplex von Apc. v-xix ausser xix 5, das, wie gesagt, ein verbindendes Zwischenstück zwischen xix 1 f. und xix 6-8 bildet, nur die beiden Doxologien. Denn der kurze Ausruf in xvi 7 bestätigt nur die deutende Konstatierung in xvi 5 f. und ist übrigens trotz seiner Kürze wie diese deutlich situationsbezogen. Und vii 10 ist zwar formal eine allgemeine Aussage (die in dieser Form etwa auch im irdischen Gottesdienst denkbar wäre), stellt jedoch nach Zusammenhang und Inhalt im Grunde nur eine Vorwegnahme von xix 1 dar (Stichwort σωτηρία) und ist tatsächlich auf das apokalyptische Geschehen insgesamt bezogen [2]). Von den beiden Doxologien innerhalb von Kap. v-xix stimmt die eine in vii 12 eben dem konstatierenden Ruf von vii 10 zu, die andere in v 13 dem Würdig-Ruf von v 12. Sind sie ganz allgemein gefasst, so könnten sie etwa in dieser Form auch im irdischen Gottesdienst gesprochen werden (wenn auch wohl nicht gerade in der siebengliedrigen Fassung von vii 12). An sich wäre das natürlich — obschon nach seinem Verständnis durch den Apokalyptiker nur als Ausdruck der eschatologischen Erwartung — auch für den Würdig-Ruf in v 12 denkbar. Tatsächlich ergab sich indessen, dass beide Würdig-Rufe in Kap. v ihre bestimmte Aufgabe am Eingang des apokalyptischen Geschehens haben: die Anerkennung der Vollmacht des Lammes, das Endgeschehen heraufzuführen. Der Akt, in dem sie vollzogen wird, gehört — wenn auch der Verf. dessen gewiss ist, dass er in aller Kürze bevorsteht — als deren Anfang genau so zu der Kette der vom Seher vorerst geschauten, also zukünftigen Ereignisse wie die in Kap. vi-xviii beschriebenen. Beide Würdig-Rufe erläutern ja die künftige Übernahme des βιβλίον durch das Lamm als den Auftakt des Kommenden.

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[1]) Wie auch die gekürzte Form in xvi 14; xix 15.

[2]) Vgl. Lohmeyer zu vii 10. Comblin 38 f. zeigt eine weitgehende Parallelität zwischen Kap. vii und xxi f. bis in Einzelheiten auf; das ergänzt unsere Beobachtungen an den Einzelstücken in Kap. vii und xix. Als rein proleptisch erscheint mir Kap. vii allerdings nicht; aber es spricht von V. 9 ab in einer so intensiven Weise von der Vollendung als von etwas im Vollzug

Ist der akklamatorische Charakter der Würdig-Rufe deutlich, so haben wir verschiedentlich bemerkt, dass auch andere Rufe in Apc. in grösserem oder geringerem Grade an ihm teilhaben [1]). Aber bestimmend für das Verständnis der gottesdienstlichen, d.h. der dem himmlischen Gottesdienst angehörenden Rufe in Apc. ist er (abgesehen von den Würdig-Rufen) nicht; begreift man sie von ihrer eigentlichen Aufgabe her, der der Interpretation, so wird ihre besondere Art sichtbar.

Leitet die feierliche Feststellung in xi 15 mit dem sich anschliessenden Dankgebet der Ältesten zusammen deutend die Ereignisse der folgenden Visionen ein, so gilt Entsprechendes von dem „Lied"

Begriffenem, wie sie in den Ereignissen der folgenden Visionen noch nicht begründet ist.

[1]) Der Begriff der Akklamation darf kein Schwammwort werden, auch wenn man die präzise Definition bei KLAUSER 216 für die Anwendung auf den gottesdienstlichen Bereich etwas ausweiten darf (was ja auch KLAUSER tut). Am nächsten kommen der eigentlichen Akklamation in Apc. die Würdig-Rufe (s. oben). An Akklamationen in dem von KLAUSER definierten Sinn („Zurufe, mit denen eine Volksmenge ... Beifall ... oder Tadel ... zum Ausdruck bringt") erinnert der Ruf der Seelen der Märtyrer in Apc. vi 10, vgl. Dio Cassius 75, 4, 5; hier macht die Menge im Zirkus ihrer Ungeduld und ihrem Missfallen hinsichtlich der gesamten Situation des Imperiums in Sprechchören Luft (193 n. Chr.): „μέχρι πότε τοιαῦτα πάσχομεν" ἔκραξαν „καὶ μέχρι ποῦ πολεμούμεθα;"

xv 3 f. für die sieben Schalenvisionen. Die Konstatierung von xii 10-12 erläutert zunächst das unmittelbar vorher Geschaute, weist aber zugleich nach vorwärts. Wiederum gilt Entsprechendes von xvi 5 f. mit seiner Bestätigung in V. 7. Der Apokalyptiker befolgt in der Verwendung der „gottesdienstlichen" Stücke im Aufbau des Ganzen kein Schema; aber ihre besondere Aufgabe im Zusammenhang von Kap. v-xix ist deutlich. Der Verf. interpretiert nicht jede Vision des apokalyptischen Geschehens durch ein gottesdienstliches Stück; ein solches Verfahren unterbräche ständig den Ablauf der Ereignisse und führte zur Monotonie, die der Verf. offenbar gerade durch gelegentliche Ansätze zur Benutzung weiterer Gattungen des irdischen Gottesdienstes (Dankgebet xi 17 f., Lied xv 3f) zu vermeiden sucht. Dass ihm das nur in gewissem Umfang gelingt, dass das Anliegen der Interpretation ganz allgemein immer wieder durchbricht, war nicht zu übersehen. Es ist ein notwendiges Anliegen — denn die Visionen der apokalyptischen Geschehnisse bedürfen weithin der Deutung.

Dass der Verf. für diese Deutung (unter anderem) überhaupt die Form des Gottesdienstes wählt, und dass er im einzelnen „liturgische" Wendungen benutzt oder formt, zeigt natürlich, wie sehr er im Gottesdienst lebt. Übrigens erhält die Apc. durch dieses Verfahren erst ihre Geschlossenheit; ohne diesen gottesdienstlichen Rahmen fielen die Visionen weithin auseinander (ein weiteres Mittel der Verbindung der Stücke ist natürlich die Bildung von Siebenerreihen usf.; aber diese Reihenbildungen wirkten ihrerseits leicht monoton ohne die Auflockerung durch die gottesdienstlichen Stücke [1])).

Wieweit die einzelnen geprägten Wendungen der Apc. vom Verf. dem irdischen Gottesdienst entnommen sind, wird häufig schwer festzustellen oder auch nur zu vermuten sein. Ihre Ableitbarkeit aus dem Alten Testament kann ebenso für wie gegen eine Übernahme sprechen; es ist nicht unmöglich, dass die Gemeinden des Apokalyptikers stark im Alten Testament lebten, ist aber vielleicht zunächst einmal für ihn selbst wahrscheinlicher (natürlich ist es auch denkbar, dass der Gottesdienst dieser Gemeinden vom Apokalyptiker beeinflusst war). Jedenfalls haben wir z.B. für keine der speziellen Gottesbezeichnungen der Apc. von der urchristlichen Literatur her Grund zu der Annahme, dass sie anderswo im Gottesdienst verwendet wurden. Um so grösser erscheint nicht nur die sprachliche Gestaltungskraft des in i 9 genannten Johannes, sondern vor allem auch das Gewicht, das für ihn die gottesdienstlichen Stücke in Aufbau und Deutung der Schauungen hatten[1]), die er „den sieben Gemeinden in Asien" (i 4) zu Trost und Mahnung weitergab.

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[1] Mit solchen Erwägungen ist nicht behauptet, dass die Apc. ein rein literarisches Gebilde sei, und auch nicht die Möglichkeit ausgeschlossen, dass gottesdienstliche Stücke der Apc. in gewissem Umfang auf prophetische Offenbarungen zurückgehen.

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[1]) Im zweiten Teil der Kriegsrolle von Qumran, in der nach der Hypothese von J. van der Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la Guerre, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah II (Leiden 1959) 19-24 eine apokalyptische Schrift aus der Zeit nach 164 v. Chr. verarbeitet wäre, sind in die Schilderungen der letzten Kämpfe zwischen dem Volk Gottes und dem des Satans zahlreiche Redestücke eingefügt, die sich grossenteils an Gott wenden (x 8-xii 17; xiii 2-xiv 1; xiv 4-18; xviii 6 - xix 13) und weithin den Stil des Hymnus bzw. auch des Gebets zeigen. Sie gehören indessen weder dem himmlischen Gottesdienst an, noch haben sie im Aufbau der Schrift eine auch nur entfernt ähnliche Aufgabe wie die der Apc. Übrigens differieren sie von diesen auch hinsichtlich ihrer z. T. erheblichen Länge.

Vgl. die indikativische Deutung des im Alten Testament häufigen und auch im Neuen Testament begegnenden „Gott mit . . ." bei W. C. van Unnik, Dominus vobiscum: The Background of a Liturgical Formula, in New Testament Essays ed. A. J. B. Higgins (Manchester 1959) 270-305.

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THE EPISTLE OF EUSEBIUS TO CARPIANUS

TEXTUAL TRADITION AND TRANSLATION

BY

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The early Christian desire to create a harmony of the diverse elements presented in the four canonical gospels reached a degree of success in the labors of Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine (b. A.D. 260-d. A.D. 340). The Eusebian system which had the feature of maintaining the gospels intact was composed of several complementary elements: first, an epistle written to a certain Carpianus with the express purpose of explaining the complex arrangement; secondly, a marginal system of pairs of numbers, one indicating the paragraph number in that particular gospel and another indicating the canon table to be consulted for determining parallel paragraphs from other gospels; and thirdly, a prefixed set of canon tables 1). This harmony system became standard *paraphenalia* in Byzantine New Testament manuscripts and has appeared in many editions of the Greek New Testament beginning with the second edition of Erasmus in 1519. The popular edition of the Nestles has aided the student by including the Eusebian harmony system in its entirety 2). While it is an inadequate critical tool when compared with modern synopses of the gospels, the Eusebian arrangement is no historical curio to be known only by the antiquarian; it has practical value for the user who will have his Greek New Testament in hand far more often than his Gospel Parallels. While Nestle provides an explanation of the use of the system, the student may wish to know what Eusebius says about it himself. Since no full translation of this epistle into English has

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1) Carl Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln; Kunstgeschichtlich Studien über die Eusebianische Evangelien-Konkordanz in den vier erste Jahrhunderten ihrer Geschichte*; I, Textband, II, Tafelband (Göteborg, 1938)

2) Eberhard Nestle, *Novum Testamentum Graece cum apparatu critic curavit, novis curis elaboraverunt* Erwin Nestle *et* Kurt Aland (23rd ed. Stuttgart, 1957), pp. 32*-37* *et passim.*

appeared in print to the knowledge of the writer, and since many readers may lack the tools for doing this privately, a translation into English seems appropriate and will follow the brief survey of its textual tradition.

A. TEXTUAL TRADITION

1) Greek Texts and Editions

That the *Epistle to Carpianus* was a document preserved by continual copying means that it must be made the object of textual criticism if the original form is to be established from extant MSS. The present writer knows no complete list of Greek MSS containing the epistle; drawing up such a list would involve a study of the general lists of Gospel codices which describe their *paraphenalia*. In his N.T. (editio septima) TISCHENDORF was content to give the text as determined from MSS M (Paris, Bibl. Natl. 48, ix saec.) and 564 (Leipzig Univ. Tisch. IV, x saec.)[1]. W. H. P. HATCH seems to favor the text of Codex Σ of the sixth century[2]. Most of the older editions of the Greek New Testament give this treatise, though in a majority of the cases it is an uncritical edition[3]. Among editions of this century, VON SODEN gives a text which is hardly an improvement over older ones; it is further limited in that no witnesses are cited for the variants[4]. By some strange concourse of events unusual in scholarship the most accessible form of the epistle is also the most adequate, namely, that of NESTLE. The text itself is from TISCHENDORF, but the apparatus makes accessible to the reader "the variants of the earlier editions of E(rasmus) $^{2\ 5}$, Stephanus (ς), M(ill), Ma(thaei), L(loyd) 1828 and 1836, Scr(ivener), Ln (Lachmann), 𝔗(ischendorf) and 𝔚(ordsworth-

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[1] C. R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, IIte Bd. (Leipzig, 1902), p. 863. Cf. the reproduction of this text given by GREGORY (with the *variae lectiones* of MSS 77, 108 and 177) with that offered by him in his *Prolegomena* to A. F. C. TISCHENDORF's *Novum Testamentum Graece* (ed. viii critica maior), III (Lipsiae, 1894), p. 154 f.

[2] W. H. P. HATCH, *Facsimiles and Descriptions of Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), p. 99.

[3] The dominant edition was that of John MILL (based on Stephanus) in his Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, *Novum Testamentum Graecum* (Oxonii, 1707), p. clxxvii (unnumbered in edition). Cf. also MIGNE, *Patrologia graeca*, XII, coll. 1175-78.

[4] Hermann Freiherr VON SODEN, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*, I. Teil, 1 Abt. (Berlin, 1902), p. 388 f.

White" [1]. Perhaps the discovery of new material [2] will aid in the construction of a definitive text of this small, but important epistle.

2) Ancient Versions

It was inevitable that anything so integral to the Eusebian system as the epistle would be prefixed to manuscripts which contained the complementary material. As the New Testament became translated into the languages of peoples adjacent to the Mediterranean, many of these texts adopted likewise the Eusebian material with two notable changes: 1) the *Epistula ad Carpianum* was also translated into the language; and 2) often the Greek numbers were replaced with others more intelligible to the readers (as in Latin, Syriac, Armenian, etc.; Coptic would use them in the original form).

Latin: The Eusebian system was a popular one in the Christian West and the amount of extant evidence makes the study of its 'Latin history' a rich one. The definitive edition of the material was that edited by the masters, WORDSWORTH and WHITE [3]. One could wish that the Greek material had received as complete and excellent a treatment.

The transmission of the Latin material was further guaranteed longevity when included by Jerome into his Vulgate New Testament. It is doubtful if the Prologue, or Carpian epistle, was always added—at least not in Latin translation. For preceding it, or possibly superceding it, was the *Epistula ad Damasum* [4], written by Jerome in A.D. 383 as an *apology* for his work. At the conclusion of this letter Jerome gives his own version of the use of the Eusebian canon tables and marginalia. As this section of the epistle to Carpian is the one essential to its understanding, it is easy to see how the inclusion of the Greek text, or even of a Latin translation *per se*, would not be as necessary as before. The standard English translation of the preface by Jerome does not include a rendering of this "Eusebian material" [1]; the only attempted translation of it into a modern language is a rather free German translation of the major portion of the relevant section [2]. In addition to this preface, there was the *Argumentum Evangeliorum* [*inc.* Sciendum etiam, *exp.* quod solum est]—the so-called *Monitum Anonymum* [3]—which also commented on the Eusebian canons. The existence of these native Latin writings, however, did not totally prevent the translation of the epistle itself, as is evident from Wordsworth and White's *magnum opus* [4]. This rich material centering in the famous epistle is indicative of the wide-spread use of the system in the West.

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[1] NESTLE, *op. cit.*, p. 30*. All references to the epistle by line number are based on NESTLE's edition.

[2] Note, e.g., the discovery of a Greek fragment in 1926, published in W. E. CRUM and H. G. EVELYN WHITE, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, II (New York, 1926), p. 302.

[3] Iohannes WORDSWORTH *et* Henrico Iuliano WHITE, edd., *Novum Testamentum Domini Iesu Christi Latine secundum editionem sancti Hieronymi* (Oxonii, 1889-1908), 779 pp. + xxxviiii.

[4] There being other *Epistulae ad Damasum*, this one is usually referred to as the 'Preface to the Four Gospels'.

Syriac: In the time of G. H. Gwilliam the Epistle to Carpian was known to exist in five Syriac codices [5]. Though the Syriac system does not correspond exactly to the Greek, the epistle was translated with a minimum of alteration. The Syriac text is given by Gwilliam, as well as its Latin translation and pertinent notes [6]. The descriptive statement of the editor should be sufficient to characterize the accuracy of the Syriac translation: "The earlier part of this Syriac version of Eusebius' epistle is a fair rendering of the original, but the latter part has become a paraphrase in the attempt to make the somewhat obscure Greek intelligible" [7]. The particular character of the Syriac system and of this translation should be evaluated in the light of Eusebius' general popularity in the Syrian Christian Church. This interest is obvious from the early existence in Syriac of some of his other writings, such as the *Ecclesiastical History* and *History of the Palestinian Martyrs* [8]. In general, the Syriac version of this material, due to its modifications, is but a secondary witness to the text of the Greek original. Through Gregory and Von Soden, attention was drawn to an "addition" in the Peshitta text given in Syriac with a French translation by J. P. P. Martin [1]).

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[1] "St. Jerome: Letters and Select Works", *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, edd. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, Second Series, VI (New York, 1893), p. 487 f.

[2] Stephan Beissel, *Geschichte der Evangelienbücher in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters*, Ergänzungshefte zu den 'Stimmen aus Maria-Laach', XXIII (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1906), 92-3, 28: inc. *Magnum siquidem*; expl. *propria sunt inueniantur*.

[3] Wordsworth and White, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 6 f. Also cf. Migne, *Patrologia latina*, XXIX, coll. 562 f.

[5] Gwilliam, G. H., "The Ammonian Sections, Eusebian Canons and Harmonizing Tables in the Syriac Tetraevangelium", *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*... by Members of the University of Oxford, vol. II, Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1890, p. 254.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 255-58. The Syriac text is largely that of a single manuscript, Tetraev. Florentium I, dated A.D. 586.

[7] *Loc. cit.*

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 261.

Coptic: There are two important Coptic (bohairic) manuscripts containing translations of this epistle and both are texts copied about the twelfth century [2]). The first, dated A.D. 1208, was edited by G. Horner and is known as Evv., Copt.-Arab., London, Brit. Mus. Oriental 1315 (Greg. 11) [3]). The section of the epistle which he gives in Coptic and English concerns only the origin of the system (i.e., Nestle, ll. 1-13) and contains much elaboration of the attitude expressed by Eusebius in πολλὴν ... φιλοπνίαν καὶ σπουδὴν εἰσαγηοχώς. The second of these is known as Evv., Copt.-Arab., Rome, Vat. 9 (Greg. 30) and is dated A.D. 1205. The edition of the epistle by Hebbelynck is accompanied by a French translation with notes comparing the text of Vat. 9 with Brit. Mus. Oriental 1315 [4]). Hebbelynck states that the former differs from the latter [5]) and a comparison of texts and translations of both are evidence for the superiority (i.e., more literal quality) of the Vatican text as an ancient witness to the Greek 'Vorlage'. There are also numerous supra-textual editorial notes in the Coptic texts, such as this: "The ten canons end which Eusebius wrote for Carpianus, shewing him the passages which agree together in the four Gospels" [6]).

Others: That the canon tables are found in Armenian, Georgian, Gothic, Arabic and Ethiopic codices [7]) is circumstantial evidence for the existence of a translated form of the epistle to explain their use. The epistle in only one of these versions has received critical treatment, namely the Armenian [1]).

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[1]) J. P. P. Martin, *Introduction à la Critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament*, Partie théorique (Paris, 1883), x-xi.

[2]) Gregory, *Prolegomena*, pp. 871-75. Two other MSS are listed by Gregory as containing the epistle (14a and 38); both, however, are from the eighteenth century.

[3]) G[eorge] Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect*, I (Oxford, 1898), lxxii f. Horner also gives the passage dealing with the use of the canon tables from Paris Natl. Copte 13 (Greg. 18) of A.D. 1179, not cited by Gregory as containing this epistle.

[4]) Ad. Hebbelynck, "Les κεφάλαια et les τίτλοι des évangiles", *Le Muséon* XLI (1928), 81-120. Horner (*op. cit.*, pp. lix-lx) does not imply that this MS (i.e., Vat. 9) has the whole text of the epistle, publishing only material from a section of the epistle (cf. Nestle, lines 14-23 for comparative amount).

[5]) *Ibid.*, p. 115.

[6]) Horner, *op. cit.*, p. xl f.

[7]) Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

B. TRANSLATIONS

1) Modern Translations

Though there is much to commend the use of this epistle in its *original* Greek, the failure of scholars to give it a clear translation has caused the rise of a number of subtle differences in their understanding and use of it. Of the Greek text itself, there seem to be translations into only two modern languages, German and English. And yet a full translation of the epistle occurs in neither. These partial translations will be described in detail so as to indicate what resources were available in making the full English rendering which will follow.

For the German translation(s) we are indebted to Theodor ZAHN, who first edited it in 1881 [2]). The portion translated was comparable to lines 1-13 of NESTLE's text. Approximately forty years later, ZAHN again gave a rendering of the same portion [3]). The choice of words in the later is such as to indicate a different understanding of certain phrases by the translator [4]). As the latter represents the more mature judgment of the author it should receive the higher consideration by those seeking to make modern translations.

Approximately one half of the epistle has been rendered into English. John BURGON, the first to make such a translation, confined himself to the latter section (cf. NESTLE, lines 31-43) due to the case which he sought to prove [5]). The present English translation differs from this one largely by the rejection of its archaized English idiom. The second scholar to translate any portion into English was W. E. CRUM, whose choice of sections was limited to the Greek fragment(s) he was editing [1]. The extent of the original which is extant in this text corresponds to lines 1-6 and 16-19 of the NESTLE edition. On the whole, the translation appears to be an accurate one and significant differences between that of CRUM and of this paper will be noted in the notes. Thus, with capable, but fragmentary antecedents the following translation is attempted.

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[1]) P. A. VARDANIAN, in *Handes amsorya, Monatschrift für armenische Philologie*, XLII (1928), 291-302; Greek and Armenian texts paralleled.

[2]) Theodor ZAHN, *Tatians Diatessaron*, Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentliche Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur, I (Erlangen, 1881), pp. 32-33.

[3]) THEODOR ZAHN, "Der Exeget Ammonius and andere Ammonii", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXXVIII (1920), 4.

[4]) A close examination of both reveals that only about two-thirds of the former remains unchanged in the latter. The changes, however, occur largely in passages most difficult to translate.

[5]) JOHN BURGON, *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel According to S. Mark, vindicated against recent critical objectors and established* (Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1871), p. 312.

2) English Translation

EUSEBIUS TO CARPIANUS BELOVED BROTHER IN THE LORD GREETING:

A

i

Ammonius the Alexandrine, with the expense of much industry and zeal—as was proper—left us the Diatessaron Gospel, in which he had placed the similar pericopes of the rest of the Evangelists alongside Matthew, with the inevitable result that the coherent sequence of the three was destroyed inasmuch as regards the network of the readings.

ii

But in order that, while preserving completely both the content and sequence of the other three, you may know the specific passages in each Evangelist in which they were compelled by love of truth to say the same things, (and) having taken occasion from the work of the aforementioned individual, I formed for you according to a different method the sum of ten canons which have been subjoined;

B

i

Of which the first contains numbers in which the Four have said things very similar, namely Matthew, Mark, Luke, (and) John; the second in which the three, Matthew, Mark, (and) Luke; the third in which the three, Matthew, Luke, (and) John; the fourth in which the three, Matthew, Mark, (and) John; the fifth in which the two, Matthew, (and) Luke; the sixth in which the two, Matthew,

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[1]) CRUM and WHITE, *op. cit.*, p. 302. The apparent reason for giving the English rather than the Greek text is the hyper-fragmentary state of the MS.

(and) Mark; the seventh in which the two, Matthew, (and) John; the eighth in which the two, Luke, (and) Mark; the ninth in which the two, Luke, (and) John; the tenth in which each of them recorded things independently. This then is the list of the subjoined canons;

ii

But their clear meaning is this. In each of the Four Evangelists a certain number is prefixed part by part, beginning from the first, then second and third, and proceeding continually throughout unto the end of the books. And for each number a rubricate note is given, indicating in which of the ten canons the present number occurs. If, for instance, a 1, it is clear that it is in the first; but if 2, in the second; and so on to ten.

C

If then, having opened any one of the Four Gospels, you may wish to study a certain desired chapter, and to know which (of the other three) have said things very similar and to find the specific passages in which they felt compelled [to say] the same; when you have taken the present number of the pericope you hold, seek it in the canon which the rubricate note has suggested. You shall immediately discover from those [words] prefixed at the head of the canon, both how many and which ones (of the Evangelists) spoke concerning what you are seeking. For both by having sought the numbers of the remaining Evangelists which lie parallel in the canon to the number you are holding, and by having sought them in the specific passages of each Gospel, you will find them saying things very similar.

Notes

A i *Diatessaron Gospel*] Crum, 'Four-fold Gospel'/Zahn, das Diatessaron,

A i *alongside Matthew*] Crum, the Gospel according to Matthew/Zahn. dem Evangelium nach Matthäus.

A i *similar pericopes*] Crum, those passages which correspond to it/Zahn, aus den gleichen Stoff bezüglichen Abschnitte. Literally: ὁμο = same + φωνους = sound

A i *network of the readings*] Crum, connected reading/Zahn, das Gewebe der Lektion.

A ii *compelled by love of truth*] Zahn, mit Wahrheitsliebe... gedrungen fühlten.

A ii *the sum of ten canons ... subjoined*] Zahn, Verzeichnisse (κανόνες), zehn an der Zahl ... entworfen....

C *things very similar*] Burgon, things of the same kind. Literally, παραπλησία = things almost or nearly alike.

rubricate note] Burgon, subscribed in vermillion.

ZUM RÖMERBRIEF

VON

NORBERT KRIEGER
Jerusalem

An den theologischen Kern des Briefes will dieser Versuch in keiner Weise rühren. Er betrifft aüsserliche Zusammenhänge bloss, die mir zwar auf der Hand zu liegen scheinen, deren Möglichkeit aber in den mir zugänglichen Kommentaren nicht einmal erwogen wird.

,,Nun bin ich überzeugt, meine Brüder'', schreibt Paulus (xv 14 f.), ,,ich für meine Person bin es euretwegen, dass ihr selber voll guter Gesinnung seid, erfüllt mit aller Erkenntnis und wohl imstande, auch *einander* zu vermahnen. Ich habe euch aber zum Teil recht kühn geschrieben, nur um euch wieder zu erinnern — auf Grund der Gnade, die mir von Gott verliehen ward [1]) — dass ich ein Priester Christi Jesu sein soll für die Heiden, im heiligen Dienst am Evangelium Gottes, damit die Heiden werden meine Opfergabe'' [2]).

Dieser Abschnitt könnte bedeuten, dass Paulus den Brüdern nahe legt, seinem Vorbilde zu folgen [3]) und Heidenmission zu treiben. So heisst es schon zu Beginn des Briefes auszugsweise: ,,Paulus . . . berufener Apostel . . . unseres Herrn, durch den *wir* empfangen haben Gnade und Apostelamt . . . unter welchen *auch ihr* seid als Berufene Jesu Christi . . . Denn ich schäme mich des Evangeliums nicht; ist es doch Gottes Kraft zum Heile jedem Glaubenden, so wie dem Juden zuerst so auch dem Griechen.'' — Diese Wendung lässt an eine verschämte Haltung der römischen Judenchristen den weltweisen ,,Griechen'' gegenüber denken [4]).

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[1]) Besser vielleicht ,,im Hinblick auf die Gnade'', im Hinblick nämlich auf das xv 17-19 Ausgeführte.

[2]) Vgl. C. K. Barrett zu Röm xv 16 (in *Black's New Testament Commentaries*, 1957): Paul acts as a priest in presenting to God an offering which consists of . . . the Gentile Christians who have been converted in his missions.

[3]) Vgl. 1 Kor iv 16; xi 1.

[4]) Vgl. 1 Kor i 22-24.

Paulus würde jene „Juden", die das Heil doch selbst erfahren haben, auffordern (nicht zudringlich, sondern andeutungsweise bloss bei der Sanftmut des Christus), alles Schämen mit seiner Heimlichkeit beiseite zu tun und freimütig dem Spotte der „Griechen" zu begegnen[1]. Denn diese sind es, die sich eigentlich schämen sollten: „Zu Toren sind sie geworden, da sie gar weise taten" (i 22).

Ich weiss, dass die hier gegebene Deutung keineswegs die übliche ist und dass insbesondere H. LIETZMANN's gelehrtes Urteil entschieden anders lautet:[2]

> „(Die ersten Verse des Eingangsgrusses erklären sich) aus dem Bedürfnis des Paulus, sich der ihm noch unbekannten Gemeinde als 'ihren' mit göttlichem Auftrag versehenen Apostel vorzustellen, der ein autoritatives Anrecht an sie hat. ἐλάβομεν ist der Pls sehr geläufige schriftstellerische Plural. — Pls begründet hier sein Anrecht, den Römern zu schreiben, darauf, dass er Heidenapostel ist: unsere Stelle wird, wenn sie überhaupt einer Erläuterung bedürfte, durch V. 13 und vor allem xi 13, 30; xv 15 f. unzweifelhaft klargestellt[3]. Die römische Gemeinde ist also heidenchristlich. Man würde das auch angesichts des klaren Wortlautes unsrer Stelle nie bestritten haben, wenn nicht der Inhalt des Briefes Leser vorauszusetzen schiene, die im AT bewandert sind (vgl. vii 1) und denen das nur aus jüdischem Empfinden verständliche Problem der Erlangung der δικαιοσύνη am Herzen liegt. Auch die breite Behandlung der Frage nach der Erlösung Israels c. 9-11, die Abwehr des Vorwurfes, ein Verächter des Gesetzes zu sein (vii 7 ff.) u.a.m., weist in die gleiche Richtung... Trotzdem ist an dem Wortlaut nicht zu deuteln und die Meinung des Pls vom Charakter der römischen Gemeinde dadurch festgelegt."[4]. Zu i 15 heisst es dann: Die Bedeutung dieser ganzen Einleitung tritt nur dann ins rechte Licht, wenn man xv 14-24 dazu nimmt. Pls hat sich, obwohl Heidenapostel, bisher von jeder Gemeinde ferngehalten, die er nicht selbst gegründet hat (xv 24), 'um nicht auf andrer Leute Grund zu bauen'. Der Gemeinde der Welthauptstadt gegenüber wird er zum erstenmal seinem Prinzip untreu — begreiflich genug! Daher das Bedürfnis, seinen Schritt genau zu motivieren, daher die uns fast übertrieben scheinende Bescheidenheit i 12, daher aber auch die Schiefheit der Parallele mit seinem bisherigen Wirken i 13 und die Unmöglichkeit für den Exegeten, präzise zu sagen, was Paulus in Rom will und was er nicht will; er sagt es eben nicht klar und kann es auch nicht. Die Schwierigkeit liegt in der Situation des Pls, nicht in eigenartigen Verhältnissen der römischen Gemeinde begründet."

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[1] Vgl. 2 Kor x 1; iv 1-2; iii 12.

[2] *Handbuch zum NT, An die Römer*^{4}, 1933, S. 24 ff.

[3] Für den Abschnitt xi 13-31 zeigt der Wechsel von Plural und Singular in der Anredeform, dass es sich um stilistisch lebhafte Form, nicht aber um wirkliche Anrede handelt. Und mit gleichem Unrecht könnte man aus ii 17 f. schliessen, dass Paulus an Juden schreibt.

[4] Nicht so schroff bemerkt C. K. BARRETT zu i 6: "The next words, *among whom are you*, show that a majority of the Roman Christians were Gentiles."

,,Was wollen wir nun sagen (iv 1) von Abraham, unserem Ahnherrn nach dem Fleische?'' Das ist eine Frage, die Paulus als Jude bloss seinen Volksgenossen nach dem Fleische (ix 3) stellen kann. Er schreibt ausdrücklich (vii 1): ,,Rede ich doch zu Leuten, die das Gesetz kennen.'' Auch wer hier (mit LIETZMANN) an ,,höfliche Pädagogik'' eines Lehrers denkt, der heidnische Christen im mosaischen Gesetze unterweisen will, wird zugeben müssen, dass der Apostel die lange Auseinandersetzung ix 1 - xi 12 mit ihrer unentwegten Beweisführung aus der Schrift wirklich nur jüdischen Lesern zumuten konnte. Seine Zurechtweisung der Starken und der Schwachen im Glauben (xiv 1 ff.) hebt sich am deutlichsten vom Hintergrunde der jüdischen Vorschriften zur Reinheit des Fleischgenusses, sowie der jüdischen Fast- und Feiertagsordnungen ab [1]).

Der jüdische Heidenapostel scheint demnach an stammverwandte Brüder geschrieben zu haben, um unter ihnen Mitarbeiter zu gewinnen, nach Art der Judenchristen Prisca und Aquila (xvi 3; Act. xviii 2-4, 26), für eine Missionierung der in Rom wohnhaften ,,Griechen'' (i 14-15). Er selbst wollte sich frei halten für das ferne Spanien (xv 24, 28).

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[1]) Als Gegenargument bringt C. K. BARRETT (p. 256): "There was a large Jewish colony in Rome . . ., and it must be regarded as certain that suitable meat could be obtained by anyone who wished to do so", ohne zu bedenken, dass Christen bei jüdischen Fleischhauern schwerlich willkommene Kunden gewesen wären.

REVIEW

Mlle Jaubert, *La date de la Cène.*

In three contributions[1] to learned journals Mlle A. Jaubert has sought to build up a case for a distribution of the events of Passion Week over its days that differs considerably from the one commonly understood to be made of them in the Gospels. The substance of these contributions with additional data and observations has now been gathered into a single volume²) and so has been put within the reach of a larger number. That it may be seen at once how novel the proposed chronology is and still more because it will be helpful throughout our consideration of it to have it before us, an outline of it is given here.

Jewish Official Calendar Nisan		Ancient Sacerdotal Calendar Nisan
8	*Saturday* In the evening the anointing at Bethany	11
9	*Sunday* The Triumphal Entry. Jesus returns to Bethany.	12
10	*Monday* Jesus comes from Bethany. The cursing of the fig tree.	13
11	*Tuesday* In the morning the disciples call attention to the withered fig tree. Later they ask where they should prepare the Passover. In the evening Jesus celebrates the Passover with his disciples and institutes the Holy Supper. In the night Tues./Wedn. he is arrested and led to the house of Annas. He is questioned there and then led to the house of Caiaphas.	14
12	*Wednesday* Ecclesiastical Trial of Jesus begins.	15
13	*Thursday* Ecclesiastical Trial is completed in the morning. Jesus is led immediately thereafter to Pilate. First appearance of Jesus before Pilate. Jesus is sent to Herod Antipas.	16

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¹) 'Le calendrier des Jubilés et la secte de Qumrân. Ses origines bibliques' in *Vetus Testamentum* III (1953), 250 ff.

'La date de la dernière Cène' in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* CXLVI (1954), 140 ff.

'Le calendrier des Jubilés et les jours liturgiques de la semaine' in *Vetus Testamentum* VII (1957), 35 ff.

²) *La date de la Cène. Calendrier biblique et liturgie Chrétienne* (Paris, 1957).

14 *Friday* 17

Second and last appearance of Jesus before Pilate.
He is condemned and crucified.
The Jews celebrate the Passover in the evening.

The ancient sacerdotal calendar noted on the right of the above outline is the calendar used by the writer of the *Book of Jubilees*, a pseudepigraphical work of the second century B.C., in his narrative of events from the Creation to the time of Moses. Its year consisted of 364 days. That being 52 weeks, it follows that according to this calendar every year began on the same day of the week and every annual festival the time of which was determined by a month-date always fell on the same day of the week. Mlle JAUBERT's research has led her to the conclusion that in this calendar I Nisan was always a Wednesday and consequently that 14 Nisan was always a Tuesday. She holds that Jesus and his disciples adhered to this calendar and so joined in celebrating Passover for the last time on the evening of Tuesday in Passion Week, and that this is the celebration mentioned by the Synoptists. Further, she holds that the Jews generally, adhering to the official calendar (noted on the left of the above outline), celebrated the Passover on the evening of the Friday in Passion Week, and that this is the celebration referred to in the Fourth Gospel. Accordingly she assigns the institution of the Holy Supper to the evening not of the Thursday but of the Tuesday in Passion Week, puts the arrest of Jesus in the Tues./Wedn. night and extends his trial over the Wednesday, the Thursday and the early part of the Friday.

The calendar of the Book of Jubilees.

1. While Mlle JAUBERT concludes that the year in the calendar of the *Book of Jubilees* began on a Wednesday, Morgenstern[1] concludes that it began on a Tuesday, and, so far as concerns the data which Mlle JAUBERT has adduced from this book itself, the one conclusion appears to be as sound as the other. It is true that a considerable number of ancient writers reckoned time from Wednesday, the fourth Creation day, the day on which the sun and moon and stars were made. But some of them did not operate with a year of 364 days; and while those of them who did so must have used a calendar in which the year always began on a Wednesday, it does not necessarily follow that the year in the calendar used by the writer of the *Book of Jubilees* also began on that day of the week. In this particular his calendar may have differed from theirs. He appears to have reckoned his jubilees from the day on which Adam and Eve began to live together in the Garden of Eden (iii 15). Now Eve entered Eden on the eightieth day after she was made (iii 9), and she was made on a Friday (iii 6). This indicates that the first day of the first year of the first jubilee was a Tuesday rather then a Wednesday.

2. Assuming for the moment that the year of the calendar used in the *Book of Jubilees* began on Wednesday and remembering that this year advanced on the solar year by one and a quarter days annually, we fail to see why according to this calendar Tuesday in Passion Week must have been 14 Nisan, and may not have been 21 Nisan or 28 Nisan or some later date distant from 14 Nisan by an integral number of times seven days. According to the Johannine chronology of Passion Week 14 Nisan in the official Jewish calendar was a Friday in the year of the Crucifixion; but the question whether the Tuesday immediately preceding this Friday was 14 Nisan in the calendar of the *Book of Jubilees* cannot be investigated in a strictly scientific way until

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[1] 'The Calendar of the *Book of Jubilees*, its Origin and its Character' in *Vetus Testamentum* V (1955), 34 ff.

it is known when the year of the latter calendar came into use and how precisely and at what times it was brought into accord with the solar year. These, however, are matters about which at present nothing is known. 'Sur les intercalations de ce calendrier nous sommes réduits', writes Mlle JAUBERT[1], 'à des conjectures. La difficulté n'est pas encore résolue'.

3. Already by the beginning of the second century Sunday, Wednesday and Friday were for Christians significant days of the week. Sunday was significant and a day of synaxis because it was on a Sunday that Jesus rose from the dead: Wednesday was significant and a day of fasting[2] because it was on a Wednesday that he was betrayed: and Friday was significant and a day of fasting [2]) because it was on a Friday that he was crucified. It is possible that early Jewish Christians had, before their conversion to Christianity, adhered to a sacerdotal calendar in which the same three were prominent days of the week and that, continuing after their conversion to adhere to it, they infilled each of these three days with a new significance derived from the Passion history. That, however, is by no means inevitable [3]) and affords no sure ground on which to conclude that Jesus and his disciples had also adhered to this calendar.

Patristic testimony to a Passover observance on the Tuesday of Passion Week

The main patristic text which Mlle JAUBERT adduces as a witness to a Passover observance on the Tuesday of Passion Week is the *Didascalia Apostolorum* [4]). In its 21st chapter, which has as its theme the Paschal Fast, the thought of the writer does not proceed, any more than it does in any other chapter, in an orderly way. But it can hardly be described as 'un amalgame assez peu homogène'. In it the events of Passion Week are recounted twice, but the two accounts consist with one another and are mutually supplementary. Taken together they give a fairly detailed account of what according to the writer took place in Passion Week, from Monday, 10 Nisan, to the following Sunday, the day of the Resurrection.

1. In the first account it is recorded that on the third day of the week (Tuesday) Judas betrayed Jesus, that in the evening Jesus and his disciples ate the Passover and then went to the Mount of Olives and that in the night Jesus was arrested: that on the fourth day of the week (Wednesday) Jesus remained in ward in the house of Caiaphas and that the chiefs of the people took counsel against him: that on the fifth day of the week (Thursday) Jesus was brought to Pilate and remained in ward with him the following night (Thur./Frid.): that as it drew on (towards day) on the Friday, they accused

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[1]) *La date de la Cène*, 20.

[2]) *Didache* viii.

[3]) The Pharisees fasted on Monday and Thursday and rested on Saturday. Our local baker, who is blissfully ignorant of the ancient Pharisees and their ways, itinerates with his bread van on precisely these three days of the week, for reasons of course which are entirely his own! It needs to be remembered that for the Jews, no matter what calendar they used, Sunday, Wednesday and Friday were special days of the week. Sunday was its first working day: Wednesday was significant as standing between the opening three and the closing three days of the week: and Friday was a busy day in view of the coming Sabbath.

[4]) *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, ed. F. X. Funk in 2 vols. (Paderborn, 1905): *Didascalia Apostolorum*, E. T. from the Syriac version and accompanied by the Verona Latin fragments by H. CONNOLLY (Oxford, 1929). Our quotations are from this translation.

him much before Pilate, that on this day they crucified him and that he suffered at the sixth hour.

Having thus come to the interval between the Crucifixion and the Resurrection regarding which Jesus had said: So shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth (Mt. xii 40b), the writer gives the following curious exegesis of these words. The three hours preceding Jesus' death on the cross are reckoned the first day and the three hours of darkness that succeeded it the first night. The remaining three hours of the Friday are reckoned the second day and the night (Frid./Sat.) following is the second night. The day of the Sabbath is the third day, and the three hours of the night after the Sabbath are reckoned the third night.

Passing to the day of the Resurrection, the writer quotes a discourse which Jesus then addressed to his disciples. In it he instructed them not only to observe the Paschal Fast from the second day of Passion Week until the night after the Sabbath, but also to fast every Wednesday because it was on a Wednesday that the Jews apprehended him and every Friday because it was on a Friday that they crucified him.

Mlle Jaubert finds two traditions in this account. She finds one in the passage of it that extends from the beginning and ends with the exegesis of Mt. xii 40b. She considers, rightly we think, that there is no connection between the three days of Mt. xii 40b and the three days during which Jesus was a prisoner. But she maintains that in this passage the writer's 'préoccupation maîtresse' is to justify the assertion that Jesus was three days and three nights in the heart of the earth, and appears to conclude that we have here to do with a tradition that reaches back to a time when the Paschal Fast was observed only throughout the Friday and the Saturday of Passion Week, and further that since the passage is all of a piece, the chronology which precedes the exegesis of Mt. xii 40b was already recognised at that time.

There is, however, no indication that the mind of the writer was engrossed in this exegesis. It itself is neither the outstanding theme nor the culmination of the passage which it terminates. Indeed it appears to be no more than incidental, the content of what, relative to the whole account which we have outlined above, is but a transition paragraph. The observance of the Paschal Fast throughout Friday and Saturday originated in compelling considerations; and if this exegesis exercised any influence upon it, e.g. in determining its hours, it may have done so only some considerable time after the observance was instituted. In brief neither the exegesis nor the chronology which precedes it need be as old as this observance.

Mlle Jaubert finds another tradition embedded in the following portion of Jesus' discourse:

'You may be fasting for them on the fourth day of the week, because on the fourth day of the week they began to destroy their souls, and apprehended Me. For the night after the third of the week belongs to the fourth of the week, as it is written: *There was evening and there was morning, one day*. The evening therefore belongs to the following day: for on the third of the week at even I ate My Pascha with you, and in the night they apprehended Me. But fast for them also on the Friday, because thereon they crucified Me . . .'

Mlle Jaubert considers that we have here to do with a tradition that reaches back to the time of the institution of the weekly fasts of Wednesday and Friday. This institution was earlier than that of the six-day Paschal Fast, and the reference to the Pascha eaten on the evening of the third day of the week shows that it was based on the same chronology of Passion

Week as in this chapter precedes the exegesis of Mt. xii 40b. Therefore, Mlle JAUBERT concludes, this chronology must antedate the institution of the six-day Paschal Fast.

But what indication is there that we have here to do with an early tradition? The only indication which Mlle JAUBERT adduces is the rather clumsy manner in which Jesus' instruction to observe the weekly fasts of Wednesday and Friday is soldered to his instruction to begin the Paschal Fast on Monday. That, however, may be entirely due to the disorderly way in which, as has already been said, the writer's thought proceeded. The reason given here for the institution of the weekly fast of Wednesday may not be the one that was given for it at its institution, but one that was substituted for it when the six-day Paschal Fast was instituted, and the chronology of Passion Week from which that reason was derived need not be earlier than that time.

2. In his second account of the events of Passion Week the writer of the *Didascalia Apostolorum* adds somewhat to them and dwells somewhat more upon the Paschal Fast itself, the time of its commencement, the time of its termination, its manner and its measure. Referring to the Passover eaten on the Tuesday evening, he says that the priests and elders had brought it forward by three days that they might seize Jesus without disturbance at a time when the inhabitants of Jerusalem were engaged with the sacrifice and the eating of the Passover and before the great mass of the people coming to Jerusalem for Passover had arrived there.

According to Mlle JAUBERT this explanation of it is a pure invention on the part of the writer. But for his giving of this explanation of it the only reason which she adduces is his signal embarrassment, an embarrassment of which we fail to find any indication. More needs to be noted. Let us return to the last sentence of the passage quoted above from Jesus' discourse. That sentence in full runs: 'But fast for them also on the Friday, because thereon they crucified Me, in the midst of their festival of unleavened bread, as it is said of old in David: *In the midst of their festivals they set their signs, and they knew not.*' If on Friday, 14 Nisan, the Jews were already in the midst of *their* festival of unleavened bread, then *their* Passover was already past and must necessarily have been an anticipated Passover. If then, as Mlle JAUBERT maintains, the passage contains an early tradition, the assumption which it involves, namely that the Passover assigned to the Tuesday evening in Passion Week was an anticipated ordinary Passover of the Jews, goes back with it to an early time and therefore cannot have originated with the author of the *Didascalia*. For reasons already given we are not convinced that the chronology of Passion Week given in this chapter of the *Didascalia* ought to be given an early date. But whatever its date may be, nothing, so far as we can see, suggests or indicates that the Passover which in it is assigned to the Tuesday evening was ever regarded as anything other than the ordinary Passover of the Jews observed at the bidding of the authorities three days before its time.

Reference to a Passover observed in the evening of Tuesday in Passion Week is also found in the work of EPIPHANIUS. He wrote *c.* 375; and since he was acquainted with and made use of the *Didascalia Apostolorum* ¹), his witness to this Passover is almost certainly not independent. As is generally recognized, he was uncritical and credulous especially in matters of chronology, and because of that we may well hesitate to allow Mlle JAUBERT's statement that he would not have defended a chronology of

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¹) See Funk, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 3-8, also Vol. I, p. iii and p. 270.

Passion Week that came to him only from a literary source. Moreover, and this is particularly noteworthy, according to EPIPHANIUS also the Passover of the Tuesday evening was an ordinary Passover of the Jews which had been brought forward: ἔφαγον οὖν τὸ πάσχα πρὸ δύο ἡμερῶν τοῦ φαγεῖν, τουτέστι τῇ τρίτῃ ἑσπέρας, ὅπερ ἔδει τῇ πέμπτῃ ἑσπέρας (*Haeres*. li 26).

In the *De fabrica mundi* VICTORINUS OF PETTAU writes that Jesus was arrested by the ungodly on the fourth day. [1]) It is therefore likely that he assigned to the third day, i.e. Tuesday, the last Passover which Jesus observed with his disciples. But we are not obliged to predicate a tradition common to VICTORINUS and the writer of the *Didascalia Apostolorum* and anterior to them both. If, as JEROME states, VICTORINUS used the works of ORIGEN, he may also have used the *Didascalia*, the date of which appears to be the first half of the third century [2]). From it then he may have derived what he writes about the day of Jesus' arrest, and he may have held with its author that the Passover of the Tuesday evening was an anticipated ordinary Passover of the Jews.

The fact that the only other patristic text which Mlle JAUBERT adduces is the *Conflict of Adam and Eve*, a work which competent authorities assign to the fifth or sixth century [3]), indicates how few early writing there are in which a Passover on the evening of Tuesday in Passion Week is mentioned or in which statements are made which imply such a Passover.

'The same night in which he was betrayed'.

Of the accounts that have come down to us of the institution of the Holy Supper the earliest is that given by St. Paul in I Cor. xi, 23 ff. It begins with the words, 'The Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread'. Since the Gospel chronology of Passion Week is under examination, Mlle JAUBERT rightly insists that we must not for the present use the Gospels to determine the night referred to, but rather must ask ourselves why in the message which St. Paul had received, and the content of which must therefore have been very early, this night was described as the night in which he was betrayed and not as the night before his death. Is there not in this description of it at least a suggestion that it was not the night before his death but an earlier night? At least two answers are possible. The one is that 'the night in which he was betrayed' (more literally 'in which he was being delivered up') is much more than a mere note of time. This description of the night 'throws into relief the fidelity of Jesus to the covenant (vs. 25) thus made with His people, and enhances the holy pathos of the recollection; behind the Saviour lurks the Traitor.' [4]) The second answer takes the form of another question. If, as the proposed chronology of Passion Week requires, Jesus ate the Passover with his disciples on the evening he instituted the Holy Supper, why did the tradition which St. Paul had received not commence with the words, 'The Lord Jesus the same night in which he kept the Passover took bread'? The fact that the tradition did not speak of a Passover evening is a negative indication that the evening in question was not 14 Nisan either in a sacerdotal calendar or in the official Jewish calendar. That writers of liturgical works continued to use the phrase 'the night in which he was betrayed' must obviously be put down to their desire in a matter of such gravity to adhere to the letter of Scripture and to set the fidelity of Jesus where the apostle had set it, against the dark background of the treachery of Judas.

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[1]) Ed. HAUSSLEITER (*C.S.E.L.* XLIX), p. 4.

[2]) So GALTIER, 'La date de la Didascalia des Apôtres' in *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique* XLII (1947), 315 ff.

[3]) See HORT, 'Adam, Books of' in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Vol. I, p. 37a.

[4]) G. G. FINDLAY in *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, Vol. 2, p. 880.

Mlle JAUBERT adduces the following passage from JUSTIN MARTYR, *Dialogue with Trypho*, ch. cxi: [1]

'For the passover was Christ, who was afterwards sacrified, as also Isaiah said, "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter". And it is written that on the day of the passover you seized Him, and that also during the passover you crucified Him.'

She admits [2] that this text 'n'a rien de contraignant', but claims that an explanation of it would lie to our hand were we to assume that Jesus celebrated the Passover three days before the official Passover. Earlier, however, in the same work (ch. xcix) JUSTIN writes: [1]

'For on the day on which He was to be crucified, having taken three of his disciples to the hill called Olivet, situated opposite to the temple in Jerusalem, He prayed . . .'

Comparison of the two passages shows that according to JUSTIN Jesus was arrested in the first, i.e. the night portion, and crucified in the second, i.e. the day portion of 14 Nisan.

Mlle JAUBERT thinks it may be significant that, as ETHERIA records in her *Itinerarium* (of date *c.* A.D. 400), Christians in Jerusalem made a pilgrimage to the Mount of Olives on the evening of Tuesday in Holy Week. [3] Their main purpose in doing so was apparently that in a grotto 'where the Lord had been wont to instruct his disciples' they might hear read to them his great eschatological discourse. It is possible that originally this pilgrimage was made in commemoration of the arrest of Jesus and that the purpose which it was subsequently given was derived from the Synoptic history of Passion Week. But there is no suggestion or indication of that in ETHERIA's narrative. She mentions no celebration of the Holy Supper on the Tuesday, but mentions two celebrations of it on the Thursday. The first of these took place in the Martyrium. ETHERIA's account of the other runs: [4]

'Uenitur post Crucem, dicitur ibi unus yinnus tantum, fit oratio et offeret episcopus ibi oblationem et communicant omnes. Excepta enim ipsa die una per totum annum nunquam offeritur post Crucem nisi ipsa die tantum.'

This celebration doubtless goes back to the Synoptic setting of the institution of the Supper in the evening of the Thursday in Passion Week: and its taking place in the Chapel of the Cross and not, as we might have expected, in the Coenaculum may well be due to theological reflection on the meaning of the Supper. It may be urged that because of the importance attached to this second celebration on the Thursday the recollection that the Supper had in fact been instituted on the Tuesday had been quite undone, and that we ought not to be surprised that Etheria mentions no celebration on the Tuesday. But it is most of all in Jerusalem and in the worship of the Christian community there that we would have expected that recollection to have persisted.

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[1] Translation from *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

[3] *Ininerarium Aetheriae* ch. 32: ed. with French trans. by H. Pétré, p. 224. In this chapter Pétré renders missa by renvoi.

[4] *Ibid.*, ch. 35: ed. Pétré, p. 226.

The Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel

A. All four Evangelists put the Crucifixion on a Friday. But whereas according to the Fourth Gospel Jesus appears to have been crucified on 14 Nisan, according to the Synoptics he appears to have observed the Passover and to have instituted the Holy Supper in the evening of 14 Nisan and to have been crucified on the following day. This apparent contradiction has occasioned almost endless debate. The solution of it which Mlle JAUBERT offers is that the Synoptists and the Fourth Evangelist do not refer to one and the same Passover observance. The Fourth Evangelist refers to the Passover observed by the Jews generally on the evening of Friday in Passion Week, the 14 Nisan according to the official Jewish calendar. The Synoptists, preserving an early tradition, refer to a Passover observed by Jesus and his disciples on the evening of Tuesday in Passion Week, the 14 Nisan according to an ancient sacerdotial calendar.

1) This involves the assumption that the Synoptists wrongly took the Passover at which Jesus had instituted the Holy Supper to have been the Passover observed by the Jews generally and that, being unaware that the trial of Jesus had extended over two days and a half and knowing that he had been crucified on the Friday, they assigned this Passover to the Thursday, so making it the 14 Nisan according to the official calendar. Such misunderstanding on their part is possible. But it may be questioned if it is likely in the case of Luke. If, as Mlle JAUBERT maintains, the practice of adhering to a sacerdotal calendar passed from Jesus and his disciples to the Palestinian Christian community, Luke must almost certainly have become acquainted with it when he was with Paul in Caesarea, and inquiring into it must almost certainly have come to know that there had been an interval of days between the Institution of the Holy Supper and the Crucifixion.

2) Part of the preparation for the Passover was the killing in the Temple of the Paschal lambs which were subsequently taken home and then roasted and eaten later in the evening. Now it seems unlikely that the priests had authority, or would have consented, to handle such lambs save at the appointed time on 14 Nisan according to the official Jewish calendar; and in fact there is no evidence that there were two killings. Mlle JAUBERT recognizes the force of this objection and suggests that, in observing Passover, Jesus and his disciples dispensed with a lamb and were satisfied with a ritual of unleavened bread. But in Mk. xiv, 12 reference is made to 'the first day of unleavened bread when they *killed* the passover (ὅτε τὸ πάσχα ἔθυον[1]): no earlier or contemporary Jewish community is definitely known to have observed such a Passover: and it is scarcely conceivable that a Passover without a lamb that had been ritually slain would have been a Passover for the Jewish consciousness prior to the Destruction of the Temple.

B. In Mk. xiv, 1 (cf. Mt. xxvi 2) it is recorded that after two days was the Passover, and then in vss. 3-9 an account is given of an anointing of Jesus in Bethany. But according to Jn xii 1-8 this anointing took place on Jesus' arrival in Bethany six days before the Passover. This is another seeming contradiction between the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel, and Mlle JAUBERT claims that on the basis of the chronology of Passion Week which she proposes it also disappears.

It is, however, not surprising that she makes this claim with somewhat less confidence. If the Passover on the Tuesday evening followed the anointing in Bethany after two days and the inclusive method of reckoning was used, then the anointing took place on Monday, 13 Nisan in the sacerdotal calendar [1]); and that Monday was not six days before the Friday of the same week, 14 Nisan in the official calendar. If the phrase 'after two days' ought to be interpreted according to the *ex*clusive method of reckoning, the anointing took place on Sunday, 12 Nisan in the sacerdotal calendar; but that Sunday came six days before Friday of the same week, 14 Nisan in the official calendar, only according to the *in*clusive method of reckoning. To put the matter otherwise: the one day that can naturally have been described as six days *before* Friday, 14 Nisan in the official calendar, was Saturday, 8 Nisan in the same calendar; and Tuesday, 14 Nisan in the sacerdotal calendar, was not two days but either three days (exclusive) or four days (inclusive) after that Saturday.

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[1] Mlle JAUBERT dismisses the clause as 'une glose secondaire'.

It needs to be noted that the proposed chronology throws no light on what is here the fundamental occasion of our perplexity, the fact, namely, that whereas according to Jn xii 12 the anointing took place before the Triumphal Entry, in Mk. and Mt. the account of it is given at a later point. A satisfactory explanation of this might very well show that, in attempting to account for their time-notes 'after two days was the feast of the passover' and 'six days before the passover' there is no need to assume that the Synoptists and the Fourth Evangelist refer to different Passovers. It might very well show that these time-notes do not give any sure support to, or serve with any certainty to confirm, such an assumption.

If the view be accepted that the anointing is given its correct time-setting in Jn. and that the account of it given in Mk. is out of its chronological order and if further the plot of the priests and scribes (Mk. xiv 1f.) and the treachery of Judas Iscariot (Mk. xiv, 10f.) are assigned to the Tuesday in Passion Week, then Mk. describes the happenings of only two days, the Monday and the Tuesday of Passion Week, between the Triumphal Entry and the observance of Passover by Jesus and his disciples. But it does not necessarily follow that that observance took place on the evening of the Tuesday. Mk. assigns it to the evening of the Thursday and, if the conditions just mentioned are granted, has given no account of what Jesus did throughout the Wednesday and the earlier part of the Thursday [2]). Now a tradition which records the visits Jesus paid to Jerusalem on the Monday and the Tuesday and puts his observance of Passover on the Tuesday evening is not necessarily earlier than a tradition which, after recording these visits, passes in silence over the happenings of the Wednesday and the earlier part of the Thursday and assigns the Passover observance to the Thursday evening. *On the contrary, it might in fact be an issue of a misunderstanding of it and be of considerably later date.*

The Trial of Jesus.

Mlle JAUBERT considers that the many events which the Evangelists record in connection with the trial of Jesus cannot well be crowded into the brief interval, the second half of a night and the morning of the following day, which they allow for them. A major claim which she makes for the chronology which she proposes is that, allowing adequate time for these events, it solves this problem.

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[1]) The 13 Nisan in the sacerdotal calendar was 10 Nisan in the official calendar; and according to the *Didascalia Apostolorum* ch. xxi (ed. Connolly, p. 187: ed. FUNK, Vol. I, p. 286) 'Jesus was that day (the tenth of the moon, the second day of the week) in the house of Simon the leper.'

[2]) Many scholars (WIESELER, ELLICOTT, ANDREWS, etc.) have thought that Jesus devoted this time partly to communion with his Father and partly to the instruction of his disciples.

1) But to judge from what attention New Testament scholars have paid to this problem, it does not appear to have unduly disquieted or exercised them: other problems connected with the trial have occasioned far more discussion, and it has been generally agreed that, while the proceedings at the trial may have had a semblance of legality, they were rushed through with a haste that was unbecoming and improper.

The reason for this haste is fairly clear. The ecclesiastical authorities had decided to seize Jesus by strategem and put him to death, but not to do this during the feast lest there should be a popular uprising (Mk. xiv 1f.). Whether it was their intention to have Jesus executed before or after the feast may be debated; but the treachery of Judas (Mk. xiv 10 f.) enabled them to proceed almost immediately and to effect their purpose *before* the feast. All the Evangelists record that Jesus was arrested on the night Thur./Frid. of Passion Week. Now according to the Johannine chronology, and also in the official Jewish calendar assumed by Mlle JAUBERT, the following day, Friday, was 14 Nisan, the day in the evening of which the feast began. The ecclesiastical authorities had therefore to act hurredly and to secure the condemnation of Jesus in a matter of hours. If any voices counselled a more extended and thorough trial, it may be regarded as certain that they were instantly silenced by a determined Sanhedrin and an impatient, clamorous multitude. Indeed the question may be asked, Would such voices have been any more heeded had Jesus been arrested on the Tues/Wedn. night? The temper of the chief priests and scribes is sufficiently indicated in Mk. xiv 1. They were resolved not to arrest Jesus in order that they might carefully and unhurredly try him and then, if they found him guilty, secure his execution, but 'to take him by craft and put him to death'.

2) Alike in her presentation and in her treatment of this problem Mlle JAUBERT tends to overlook the conclusions to which a reverent, critical handling of the Gospel accounts of the trial of Jesus has in recent times been pointing.

(a) Although it is recorded only in Jn, there need be no doubt that an examination of Jesus shortly after his arrest, and so while it was still dark, took place in the house of Annas.

b) Imperfect recollections of this examination apparently gave rise to a tradition that there was an examination before Caiaphas and the Sanhedrin also in the night time: hence Mk. xiv 53-65 (= Mt. xxvi 57-68). But no such examination is recorded in Lk. or in Jn, and a formal meeting of the Sanhedrin in the night time is most unlikely.

c) As soon as it was morning, and so towards 5 a.m. [1]), Jesus was examined by the whole Sanhedrin. This examination was, however, not a trial in the strict sense, but a preliminary investigation made for the purpose of collecting evidence and formulating a case to be laid before the Roman governor. [2]) Accordingly its conduct was not governed by the regulations contained in the tractate *Sanhedrin* of the Mishnah, regulations which, whatever their date, clearly envisage an actual trial with a verdict of acquital or condemnation. In this tractate it is laid down that in a capital case when the judges have found the prisoner guilty, they must adjourn, return to court on the following day, vote again and only then pronounce judgment. But this gives no support to the view that Jesus appeared before the Sanhedrin on two successive days. 1)

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[1]) So LAGRANGE, *Évangile selon Saint Marc* (1947), p. 410.

[2]) Papyri show that in grave cases such preliminary investigations were made in Egypt.

d) The statement in Jn xix, 14 that it was about the sixth hour (12 noon) when Pilate sat down on the judgment seat to pronounce sentence on Jesus is to be preferred to the statement in Mk. xv 25 that it was the third hour (9 a.m.) when they crucified him. 2) 'On est autorisé à penser', writes Lagrange 3), 'que Jo. se rapproche plus de la réalité.' It is difficult to share the view of Mlle Jaubert that the extra hours which Jn's statement allows afford no appreciable easement of the problem here under consideration.

3) The examination of Jesus before Herod Antipas (Lk. xxiii 6-12) was certainly an interlude in the trial before Pilate, and time must be allowed not only for the examination itself but also for the journey to and from the place where Antipas was resident, probably the Palace of the Hasmonaeans. The proceedings before Pilate were resumed only after that time. But nothing obliges us to conclude that they were not resumed until the morning of the following day. Whether the trial before Pilate took place at the Tower of Antonia or at Herod the Great's Palace, the Palace of the Hasmonaeans was not far distant; and it may be assumed that the ecclesiastical authorities who accompanied Jesus saw to it that no time was lost on the way and sought, as they found opportunity, to make the interview itself as brief as possible. 4) There is thus no need to conclude that by the time the interview was over, the day had ended and that in consequence the trial before Pilate was resumed only on the following day. The verb δυγκαλεσάμενος in vs. 13 signifies not that next morning Pilate summoned the ecclesiastical authorities and the people to appear before him again, but that, on the return of Jesus from Antipas, he called them to or about himself 5); and this he did in preparation for the statement which it then fell to him to make to them.

Mlle Jaubert reasons that since in the account of the end of Judas Iscariot given in Mt. xxvii 3-10 reference is made to the chief priests (vss. 3, 6) and elders (vs. 3), there must have been an interval during which Judas was able to go to them after the proceedings before Pilate recorded in vs. 1f. and those recorded in vss. 11ff. But the account begins with τότε, which in Mt. is a vague note of time virtually equivalent to *waw* consecutive. Moreover the account appears to be an intrusion. Whether due to the Evangelist or to a later hand, it must have been introduced at this point for some such reason as may be read in the commentaries, and not because this was precisely where chronologically the death of Judas by his own hand belonged.

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1) It may be assumed that Pilate was already about the duties of his office by the hour in the morning at which Jesus was brought to him. Commenting on πρωΐ in Jn. xviii 28 B. Weiss in his *Das Johannes-Evangelium* (1902), p. 485 writes: 'Allerdings pflegten die römischen Gerichtsverhandlungen frühe zu beginnen (Sen. ira II, 7: prima luce).' In warm lands to the east and south of us people rise and get to work at an earlier hour than we do.

2) See a decisive note in B. Weiss, *Das Johannes-Evangelium* (1902), p. 502.

3) *Op. cit.*, p. 429.

4) This may be part explanation of the fact that they accused Jesus vehemently (vs. 10).

5) Blass-Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* § 316, I: 'συγκαλεῖν and - εῖσθαι („ bei sich, zu sich") ist überall richtig geschieden.'

In the judgment of Connolly [1] the chronology of Passion Week set out in the *Didascalia Apostolorum* ch. xxi is an invention the main end of which is 'to defend, or establish, the practice of a six-days' fast before Easter'. That may well be the truth about it. Certainly Mlle JAUBERT has failed to show convincingly that it embodies a tradition which can be traced back to the early days of the Apostolic Age. That the trial of Jesus was completed in a single morning is possible in itself, and in view of all the circumstances, seems much more likely than that it extended over two and a half days. The chronology proposed by Mlle JAUBERT does not appear to provide any real resolution of the difficulties which, taken singly and together, the Gospel narratives of Passion Week present. The superimposing of an ancient sacerdotal calendar on this chronology can serve little purpose so long as it is not shown scientifically that Tuesday in Passion Week was 14 Nisan in that calendar —in other words, so long as no thoroughgoing proof is given that this identification is of necessity and has not been made merely to give colour to the view that in some quarters there was a Passover observance in the evening of that Tuesday.

GEORGE OGG

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. xxxii.

A SURVEY OF THE RESEARCHES INTO THE WESTERN TEXT OF THE GOSPELS AND ACTS (1949-1959)

PART II

BY

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5. *The Influence of non-canonical Matter*

About 1949 inquiries about the influence of non-canonical matter on the text was mainly confined to two studies, viz. those of A. J. WENSINCK [1]) and M. BLACK [2]). Both studies show some disadvantages as a consequence of which their demonstrative force is seriously detracted. WENSINCK based his study on a comparison of D and ℵB only. The result of this limited number of witnesses was that he overlooked the possibility of many so-called aramaisms being not more than latinisms caused by the influence of d on D. In this case BLACK's study shows a great advantage. Apart from D, the latin and syriac versions are constantly referred to. In spite of this, BLACK's studies are based on linguistic considerations only. The question, however, is whether we are dealing with aramaisms or syriasms. As long as the relation between D-old syr-old lat-diat has not been solved it is rather hazardous to base too many conclusions on semitisms in D.

In the last ten years from quite different angles new light seems to be shed on the question of the influence of non-canonical matter on the text.

First of all we see that the oldest text is approached by the method called 'form criticism'. In studies by E. FASCHER [3]) and

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[1]) A. J. WENSINCK, *The Semitisms of Codex Bezae and their Relations to the non-Western Text of the Gospel of St Luke*, in: *Bull. of the Bezan Club* XII, 1937, p. 11-48.

[2]) M. BLACK, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, Oxford 1946, see also M. BLACK, *Aramaic Studies and the New Testament: The Unpublished Work of the late* A. J. WENSINCK *of Leyden*, in: *J.T.S.* XLIX, 1948, p. 157-165 and M. BLACK, *The Problem of the Aramaic Element in the Gospels*, in: *Exp. Times* 59, 1947-1948, p. 171-176.

[3]) E. FASCHER, *Textgeschichte als hermeneutisches Problem*, Halle 1953.

M. KARNETZKI [1]) we are reminded that in the very beginning of christianity our written gospels were circulating in a community in which oral tradition with the same contents as the written gospels was available. This oral tradition was subjected to certain 'laws'. In the written tradition we should see the same 'laws' as in the development of the oral tradition. Form criticism has shown us some of these laws. According to FASCHER and KARNETZKI we are justified to apply these laws on the written text of the New Testament. As in the development of the oral tradition we see in the development of the written tradition such alterations as explanatory additions, stilistic alterations, substitution of difficult words, additions, harmonisations, geographical additions, grammatical alterations a.s.o. We are sure that one is quite right in supposing this influence on the text of the N.T. Dealing with Mss of the N.T. we are, however, not sure whether we are allowed to apply the laws of form criticism. Both FASCHER and KARNETZKI mainly base their examples on the text of D. We wonder, however, whether we are justified to point to influence of this kind in a Ms of the 5/6th century. This does not apply to D only, but to all our Mss of the N.T. Apart from the influence according to the laws of form criticism in the very beginning, there was ample time left for other influence with the same consequences. All this would be of no importance if we were able to discern between the influences of the beginning and those of a later period. And this is certainly not the case. The influences of translations (compare d on D), pedantic copyists (grammatical alterations), apocryphal writings (addition of names and geographical additions) and dogmatics very often caused the same deviations as those due to the laws of form criticism in the very beginning.

We are dealing here with an approach which surely has to be taken into consideration dealing with the text of the N.T. [2]).

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[1]) M. KARNETZKI, *Textgeschichte als Überlieferungsgeschichte*, in: *Zeitschr. neut. W. sch.* 47, 1956, p. 160-180. But see also F. C. GRANT, *Where Form Criticism and Textual Criticism Overlap*, in: *Journ. Bibl. Lit.* LIX, 1940, p. 11-21.

[2]) In this connection we point to a study by T. F. GLASSON, *Did Matthew and Luke use a 'Western' Text of Mark?*, in: *Exp. Tim*, 55 1943-1944, p. 180-184, showing that in 20 cases Mt and Lk use a text of Mk with a western reading. The same is true for Mt alone in 17 cases. Not all examples are of equal value, but his thesis cannot be denied. This shows that 'western' readings are going back to the very beginnings of christianity.

The method of form criticism, however, is very difficult to apply to the text of the N.T.

In the second place we notice a new interest in the quotations found in the writings going back to the very beginning of christianity. We may say that work on the text of the oldest extant ecclesiastical authors was thoroughly neglected during the last fifty years. Before we are going to survey studies in this field we are obliged to say a few words about some studies dating from the 19th century.

In the beginning of the 19th century K. A. CREDNER investigated the quotations of Justin the Martyr and those in the Pseudo Clementines. He concluded that in both cases the Gospel of Peter (being equal to the Gospel of the Hebrews and the Diatessaron) was used [1]). His most important opponent was K. SEMISCH who tried to prove that in Justin and the Clementines the four gospels were used, though oral tradition was not excluded [2]). Of great importance are still studies in the text of the first two centuries by W. SANDAY and B. F. WESTCOTT. Both of them supposed some influence of oral tradition on the text [3]). W. BOUSSET wrote a monograph on the text of Justin in which he speaks about 'eine evangelische Tradition' alongside the canonical gospels being used in his writings [4]). H. M. VAN NES did the same for the Clementines. In this study extra canonical matter in the text of the Clementines is not denied [5]).

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[1]) K. A. CREDNER, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften*, Halle 1832. See for a summary of his results: K. A. CREDNER, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons* (herausgeg. von G. VOLKMAR), Berlin 1860, p. 22.

[2]) K. SEMISCH, *Die apostolischen Denkwürdigkeiten des Märtyrers Justins*, Hamburg-Gotha 1848, p. 410-411. On p. 346 Semisch points at deviations between Justin and the Clementines in quoting the gospels.

[3]) W. SANDAY, *The Gospels in the second Century*, London 1876, supposed that, if in Justin and the Clementines an extra written gospel can be discerned, this gospel must be secondary to our canonical gospels (see p. 136-137 and 185-187). B. F. WESTCOTT, *A general Survey of the History of the Canon of the N.T.*, London 1896, supposes some oral tradition in Justin only (p. 168). In a list with 13 quotations found both in Justin and the Clementines he shows that no relation between their sources can be assumed (p. 297).

[4]) W. BOUSSET, *Die Evangeliencitate Justins des Märtyrers*, Göttingen 1891, p. 114. On p. 1-12 a list is given with all works written in this field during the 19th century.

[5]) H. M. VAN NES, *Het Nieuwe Testament in de Clementinen*, Amsterdam 1887. He noticed some relations between Justin and the Clementines in quoting the N.T., but, according to him, this relation is not going back on the Gospel of the Hebrews, but on that of the Egyptians (p. 99).

In this connection we also draw attention to H. Waitz. He was of the opinion that he could discover in Justin the predecessor of Matthew: the Nazarene Gospel. According to Waitz the quotations in Justin and the Clementines do not show more than a limited agreement with each other [1]. Finally we may mention the work done regarding the apostolic fathers by A Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology [2].

It is remarkable to see that after this period work in this field suddenly stopped. The reason surely is that much labour only yielded poor results. Every one is forced to admit some extra canonical matter in writings going back to this period, but its real nature cannot be determined. One is forced to draw in the picture such badly known writings as the Gospel of the Hebrews, Gospel of Peter and Nazarene Gospel. Otherwise one must speak about 'oral tradition'. Most disapointing of all is that quotations deviating from the canonical gospels are usually not in agreement with each other or with variant readings known from available Mss of the New Testament.

During the last ten years the line broken off fifty years ago, has been taken up again. E. Massaux investigated the quotations in christian literature up to Irenaeus. His conclusions is that the gospel of Matthew was widely known and used [3]. Next we have a study by H. Strecker on the Pseudo Clementines. After drawing a list with quotations from the N.T. in these writings he concludes that surely no Jewish-christian gospel is used in the Clementines. The source, however, of uncanonical matter is not investagated any further [4]. Finally a study appeared on the text of the apostolic fathers by H. KÖSTER. He again shows that the text in these writings still exists in a state of development in which both written and oral sources are used. It is, however, only for Justin the Martyr that we are able to define his source. According to KÖSTER, Justin used a gospel-harmony [1]).

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[1] H. Waitz, in: E. Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, Tübingen 1924², p. 26, about Justin: „Da jedoch Mt. selbst ausscheiden musz, bleibt nur sein Doppelgänger oder, richtiger gesagt, sein Vorläufer, das griechische N(azarener) E(vangelium) übrig", and H. Waitz, *Die Pseudoklementinen*, in: *Texte u. Unters*, 25, 1904. In this work he pointed to agreements between Justin and the Clementines. These are, however, confined to Justin's anti-marcionite document adopted by the Clementines (p. 362-363). For the rest no agreement can be discerned.

[2] A Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, Oxford 1905.

[3] E. Massaux, *Influence de l'Evangile de Saint Matthieu sur la Littérature Chrétienne avant Saint Irénée*, in: *Univ. Cath. Lovan. Diss.* Sér. II, Tome 42, Louvain-Gembloux 1950.

[4] G. Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen*, in: *Texte u. Unters*. 70, 1958, p. 136: „Ein judenchristliches Evangelium ist in den Pseudoklementinen nicht zitiert worden. Die nachweisbar unkano-

In spite of these learned investigations we may say that they show the same disadvantages as those of fifty years ago. In all cases the result of these inquiries is that we are dealing with a number of variant readings of uncertain origin. And again we have to ask the question: What is the relation between the kind of text found in these ancient writings and the text of the N.T. in the available MSS? Is it possible to say that our Mss went through a period in which they were as freely handled as the text used by the authors of the earliest christian writings? This impression we do not get. The variant readings between the Mss are numerous indeed. The agreement between our Mss, however, is still much greater than the disagreement. The opposite is true for the quotations in early ecclesiastical authors. This is why, for the time being, we must say that the quotations in these writings are very important, but *not* in the first place for textual criticism. They are in the first place important for the study of the authority of the written text. We mean for the history of the canon of the N.T. The only thing we are allowed to say is that influences on the written text caused by oral tardition *might* be available. Personally, however, we get the impression that the written text had its own authority, if not above, then in any case beside the oral tradition.

We now arrive at the third approach to the question of non-

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nischen Zitaten weisen weder Elemente judenchristlichen Ursprungs an, noch harmonieren sie mit den erhaltenen Resten der judenchristlichen Evangelienliteratur".

[1]) H. KÖSTER, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern*, in: *Texte u. Unters*, 65, 1957. See for Justin p. 89-91, 96-97 and 265. See also for Justin E. R. BUCKLEY, *Justin Martyr's Quotations from the synoptic Tradition*, in: *J.T.S.* XXXVI, 1935, p. 173-176, concluding that "the source which he (sc. Justin) knew best and quoted most often was some lost book" (p. 176). In this connection we draw attention to two works on the Didache: R. GLOVER, *The Didache's Quotations and the Synoptic Gospels*, in: *New Test. St.* V, 1958, p. 12-29, p. 27: "—the case for the *Didache* being a witness to some source or sources, of our Lord's teaching more primitive than the synoptic gospels appears very strong indeed"; and J. P. AUDET, *La Didachè*, Paris, 1958, p. 186: "—le texte de la *Didachè* ne réprésante plus qu'un variation sur un thème commun à toute la tradition évangélique".

canonical matter and the text of the N.T. We mean the work G. QUISPEL starting from the newly found Gospel of Thomas [1]. In a number of articles Quispel tries to prove with help of the evidence from the Gospel of Thomas that non-canonical matter is found in the diatessaron and from there found its way in the western text [2]. Before we are going into these inquiries we first have to say something about the Gospel of Thomas itself.

From the name given to the apostle Thomas, Didymus Judas Thomas, we may deduce that the work was written in Syria. This supposition is supported by a number of semitisms in the text [3]. The date of origin is difficulte to give. PUECH supposes as date of origin the first half of the third century [4], DORESSE the second half of the second century [5]. The work consisting of about 118 'words' of Jesus is obviously composed from different sources. Some of the words may be derived from the Gospel of the Hebrews (2 and 12 (?)) and some from the Gospel of the Egyptians (22, 37, 61, 106, 114) [6]. This does not exclude, however, that still more sources are used. About half of the words in this gospel are of the synoptic type consisting of sayings and parables. None of these is in complete agreement with the text of Nestle.

If we look over these data, we are not surprised to meet a document of this kind in Syria. The very fact that Tatian was able to introduce a gospel-harmony in Syria about the year 170, proves beyond doubt that our four separate gospels were surely not evaluated as the only source of revelation. If we only remember a book like the *Liber Graduum* we see how quotations taken from the diatessaron are alternated with numerous quotations from other (apocryphal?) sources [1]).

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[1] A definite edition of the Gospel of Thomas is still to be published. The Coptic text is available in Pahor Labib, *Gnostic Papyri in the Coptic Museum at Old Cairo*, vol. I, Cairo, 1956. A full translation in J. LEIPOLDT, *Ein neues Evangelium?*, in: *Theol. Lit. z.* XXXIII, 1958, c. 481-496.

[2] See G. QUISPEL, *The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament*, in: *Vig. Christ.* XI, 1957, p. 189-207; G. QUISPEL, *L'Evangile selon Thomas e les Clémentines*, in: *Vig. Christ.* XII, 1958, p. 181-196, G. QUISPEL, *He Luike 'Leven van Jezus' en het jodenchristelijk 'Evangelie der Hebreeën'*, in *Niewe Taalgids* LI, 1958, p. 241-249 and G. QUISPEL, *L'Evangile selon Thomas et le Diatessaron*, in: *Vig. Christ.* XIII 1959, p. 87-117.

[3] For Edessa as place of origin see H.-Ch. PUECH in: E. HENNECKE-W. SCHNEEMELCHER, *Neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* I, Tübingen, 1959^2 p. 207 and J. DORESSE, *L'Evangile selon Thomas*, Paris, 1959, p. 70-73 See for semitisms in E. Th.: A. GUILLAUMONT, *Sémitismes dans les Logi de Jésus*, in: *Journ. Asiat.* CCXLVI, 1958, p. 113-120.

[4] PUECH, in: *Hennecke-Schneemelcher*, p. 207.

[5] J. DORESSE, *Les Livres secrets des gnostiques d'Egypte*, Paris, 1958 p. 249.

[6] PUECH, in: *Hennecke-Schneemelcher*, p. 214-216.

Quispel was the first to notice that the words in the Gospel of Thomas show numerous agreements with the text of the diatessaron. In a list drawn in his last article he mentions 38 logia showing agreement with readings in the diatessaron with a total number of more than 90 cases.

It is of course of the utmost importance to define the relation between the diatessaron and the Gospel of Thomas. It is chronologically possible to suppose an influence by the diatessaron on the Gospel of Thomas. On the other hand we are again struck by many cases in which the diatessaron and the Gospel of Thomas disagree. If we really suppose the diatessaron having influenced the Gospel of Thomas we shall have to alter our ideas about the contents of the diatessaron completely. In that case the diatessaron showed a text much more different from the text of Nestle as we usually meet in the secondary and tertiary translations left of Tatian's composition.

This is why QUISPEL is working along a quite different line. Apart from agreement with the diatessaron he noticed a limited number of agreements with the quotations in the Pseudo Clementines. From this angle he tries to prove the background of the words in the Gospel of Thomas and at the same time the agreement between the Gospel of Thomas and the diatessaron. He supposes the quotations in the Pseudo Clementines to go back on a Jewish-christian gospel [2]). On this point we have to criticize QUISPEL. Apart from CREDNER in 1832 no one studying the quotations in the Pseudo Clementines ever dared to say that they are going back on uncanonical sources only, let alone on a Jewish-christian gospel. In the Pseudo Clementines we are dealing with a work that regarding its quotations fits in very well with the general picture we get from the use of scripture in syrian christianity. We are dealing with a very free way of chosing quotations in which uncanonical matter is used. This does not exclude that in several cases where the Clementines and the Gospel of Thomas agree uncanonical matter is present. But this does at the same time not justify the deduction that we are dealing with uncanionical matter in all cases of agreement.

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[1]) The *Liber Graduum* is edited by M. KMOSKO, in: *Patrol. Syriaca* I III, Parisiis, 1926. See especially A. RÜCKER, *Die Zitate aus dem Matthäusevangelium im syrischen 'Buche der Stufen'*, in: *Bibl. Zeitschr.* XX, 1932, p. 342-354.

[2]) See QUISPEL, *The Gospel of Thomas and the N.T.*, p. 190: "So these Logia are undoubtedly of Jewish-Christian origin and almost certainly taken from a Jewish-Christian Gospel, to which also the quotations in the Pseudo-Clementines ultimately go back".

We meet with similar difficulties regarding the semitisms in the Gospel of Thomas. They are a very unstable base when we wish to prove an aramaic background of the words in the Gospel of Thomas. The words went through a syriac speaking environment. Therefore it is quite possible to look upon them as syriasms and not as aramaisms.

In any case some facts stand out clearly. The Gospel of Thomas shows agreement with the text of the diatessaron and in some cases with the text of the Pseudo Clementines. Not surprising is that agreement is seen with $\text{syr}^{s\,c}$, D and lat. We have to deal with these facts. In many cases the common deviations in diat-Gospel of Thomas-Clement. cannot be deducted from the text known to us. Therefore we shall have to say that in these cases uncanonical matter crept into the text. For the time being, however, it is hazardous to say from which side this matter came into the text, nor is it possible to estimate its quantity, We are learning that in Syria with regard to the text of the N.T. everything was possible. It is here, and possible only here, that the text of the N.T. was treated very badly. The diatessaron was probably the first effort to stop this unhappy state of affairs. It could, however, not be avoided that still a good deal of strange influences came into the text of the diatessaron.

At the end of this survey about the study of uncanonical influences on the text of the N.T. we may say that we are not justified to overestimate this approach to the western text. We may say that this influence is limited to two places: the quotations of early ecclesiastical authors and writings of syrian origin. The result is that many of our Mss of the N.T. are almost free from this influence. In fact only those related with Syria may be suspected of being influenced in this way. This means that some uncanonical matter may be available in translations going back on the diatessaron. Where, however, it is to be pointed at in the Mss is not easy to say, as the sources from which this uncanonical matter was taken, are lost.

6. *The Text of Acts*

About 1949 the study of the text of Acts was still dominated by two outstanding works, viz. those of Ropes 1) and Clark 2). Ropes defended the ℵB text which was, according to him, revised by a 'rewriter', Clark took the opposite point of view supposing the text being revised by an 'abbreviator' 3). This could not be called a very satisfactory state of affairs as in this way the additions in D in comparisaon with ℵB were over-emphasized without observing a great number of minor variant readings being present in other Mss.

In the last ten years not many studies on the text of Acts appeared. Nevertheless we may say that very important results have been gained. In all studies a tendency is seen to lay stress on each individual reading. This is certainly due to the now generally accepted 'eclectic' method 4). This view is strengthened by a careful study of ℵB. This text also cannot be accepted as the original one in all its readings. In this respect we first of all mention a work by M. Dibelius 5). Dibelius, though supposing the text of D being secondary, cannot accept the text of ℵB as a whole. He is of the opinion that the Acts remained 'eine ganze Weile lang auszenhalb des Lesechristenkreises der Kirche' 6). This is why all kinds of influences on the text can be supposed. Thus he concludes that we must not try to explain 'alle Unmöglichkeiten des Texts', but that it is better 'zu Textverbesserungen zu greifen' 7). This opens the way to an unlimited use of conjectures. As an example where this should be necessary, we may cite iv 25: ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος δαυὶδ παιδός σου εἰπών.

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1) J. H. Ropes, *The Text of the Acts*, in: F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, *The Beginings of Christianity*, Pt. I, vol. 3, London, 1926.

2) A. C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Oxford, 1933.

3) See Klijn, *A Survey*—, p. 76 and 81.

4) To give a few examples: C. S. C. Williams, *A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, in: *Black's New Testament Commentary*, London, 1957, p. 49: "It is now a common place of criticism that each variant has to be considered on its own merits; a textual type cannot be accepted *in toto*", and J. Dupont, *Les Problèmes des Actes d'après les Travaux Récents*, in: *Anal. Lovan. Bibl. et Orient.*, Ser. II, Fasc. 17, Louvain, 1950, p. 26: "Renonçant donc à s'appuyer sur une seule branche de la tradition la critique actuelle du texte des Actes est éclectique".

5) M. Dibelius, *Der Text der Apostelgeschichte* in: M. Dibelius, *Aufsätze zur Apostelgeschichte*, Göttingen, 1951, p. 76-83.

6) Dibelius, *o.c.*, p. 81.

7) Dibelius, *o.c.*, p. 83.

Dibelius' opinions will surely not be generally accepted. In the first place because his starting point cannot be accepted 1), in the second place because the additions or abbreviations show a theological background 2). Dibelius' study, however, shows how many difficulties those studying the text of Acts have to face.

Next we are going into the points raised in studies dealing with particular passages or groups of variant readings.

First of all we point to L. Cerfaux 3). In his study the quotations from the Old Testament in Acts are investigated. Cerfaux is inclined to prefer the text of D in some cases. His evaluation of the relation between ℵB and D is stated in the following words: 'Nous n'avons nullement envie d'en conclure à une supériorité absolue au texte 'occidental'. *B* conserve l'avantage d'être resté plus fidèle au style dense et nerveux de Luc. *D* au contraire a souvent remanié son texte, mais on doit localiser les remanients (prologue; récit, en particulier ch. 15; voyages de Saint Paul). — Comme édition, *D* est plus ancien que *B* 4). Cerfaux's work was heavily criticized by E. Haenschen preferring the text of B. But even Haenschen has to say: 'Damit soll keineswegs behauptet werden, der Text von B sei stets der ursprüngliche—in Apg. iv 25 z.B. ist er sicherlich verderbt' 5). Next we may point to thorough

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1) A. D. Nock, *Rev.* M. Dibelius, *Aufsätze* —, in: *Gnomon* XXV, 1953, p. 497-506, p. 502: "As for the suggestion that the text of Acts suffered rougher usage than other New Testament works because of this supposed circulation in an unprotected state outside Christian circles, we may reply that a good bookseller might very well have employed better scribes than the Church commanded, and second that no christian writing was treated as scripture soon after its composition".

2) See P. H. Menoud, *The Western Text and the Theology of Acts*, in: *Stud. Novi Test. Societas*, Bull. II, Oxford, 1951, pointing to the following theological peculiarities, p. 28: a. those relative to anti-jewish prejudice, b. those concerning the church and the apostles, c. those dealing with the presence and the action of the Spirit, d. the mere mention of Jesu as Christ and Lord.

3) L. Cerfaux, *Citations scripturaires et Tradition textuelle dans le Livre des Actes*, in: *Mél. M. Goguel*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1950, p. 43-51, also in: *Recueil L. Cerfaux* II, in: *Bibl. Eph. Theol. Lovan.*, vol. VII, Gembloux, 1954, p. 93-101.

4) Cerfaux, *o.c.*, p. 51.

5) E. Haenschen, *Schriftzitate und Textüberlieferung in der Apostelgeschichte*, in: *Zeitschr. Theol. u. Kirche* 51, 1954, p. 153-167, p. 166. Dealing with Acts iv 25 we may point to C. F. D. Moule, *H. W. Moule on Acts IV* 25, in: *Exp. Tim.* 65, 1953/54, p. 220-221, p. 220: "If it is conceivable that the writer of the Acts really did leave his work unrevised, and that each of these passages represents several different attempts to say the same thing, which

studies on Acts iii 11 by J. Duplacy [1] and on Acts XII, 25 by J. Dupont [2].

With these works the most important studies on the text of Acts have been mentioned [3]. The result is that generally speaking B is superior to D [4]. On the other hand the approach to the text of Acts is totally different from the one of ten years ago. Both the text of D and the text of ℵB are taken seriously. For this reason it is rather surprising that Haenschen is criticizing the present writer's preference for the eclectic method [5]. Haenschen is justified in pointing to variant readings in Acts belonging to each other, like those in Act 19, 13-16, which have to be rejected or accepted as a whole. But even Haenschen has to say that the Acts were corrected twice: in the first place 'mit sicheren Zusätzen', in the second place by 'die besondere Bearbeitung' [6]. This makes it clear that we are not able to treat all variant readings alike. This taken together with Haenschen's opinion that even the text of B is not showing the original text in all cases proves that up to now the eclectic method is to be preferred.

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were eventually copied collectively, instead of the alterations being struck out, it would offer a –plausible explanation of these passages ”. In Acts iv 25 we should get the following attempts: τοῦ πατρὸς / ἡμῶν στόματος δανεὶδ παιδός σου / ὁ διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου εἰπών . . . Moule might be right in this case, but what to do with the hundreds of variant readings not to be explained in this way?

[1] J. Duplacy, *A propos d'une Variante 'occidentale' des Acts des Apôtres* (iii 11), in: *Rev. des Et. Augustiniennes* II, 1956, p. 231-242.

[2] J. Dupont, *La Mission de Paul à Jérusalem* (*Act xii*) *25*, in *Nov. Test.* I, 1956, p. 275-303.

[3] For the sake of completeness we amy point to M. Black, *An Aramaic Appraoch to the Gospels and Acts*, Oxford, 1946. In this work the supposed aramaic influence on the text of Acts is only dealt with superficially. This is why J. Jeremias, *Die Aramäische Vorgeschichte unserer Evangelien*, in: *Theol. Lit. z.* 74, 1949, p. 527-532, though generally accepting Black's thesis, is not going into the text of Acts. As far as Black introduces the text of Acts into his study, we may refer to E. Haenschen, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, in: *Krit.-Ex. Komm. ü. das N.T.*, Abt. III, Aufl. 19., Göttingen, 1956, p. 48-49. Surveying Black's examples Haenschen draws the conclusion that all of them may go back on the influence of d on D.

[4] The only exception is P. Glaue, *Der älteste Text der geschichtlichen Bücher des Neuen Testaments*, in: *Zeitschr. neut. W.sch.* XLV, 1954, p. 90-108. A critical review of this work by E. Haenschen, *Zum Text der Apostelgeschichte*, in: *Zeitschr. Theol. u. Kirche* XLIV, 1957, p. 22-55, p. 30-35, shows, however, that Glaue's point of view is to be rejected. We need not go into this work.

[5] Haenschen, *Zum Text*, p. 54-55.

[6] Haenschen, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 47.

We may conclude this survey by pointing to a very important matter dealing with the text of Acts. In the beginning of this survey we said that ten years ago one was mainly comparing D and ℵ B without taking into consideration the great number of other Mss. We must not forget that D is a text with a rather heterogeneous character. This is why D is not very suitable for getting to know the history of the text of Acts. It will be much more fruitful to study texts of Acts showing a much less striking character like P^{45} [1]. This is why we are very interested in the investigation of the georgian text of Acts by G. GARITTE. His conclusions may open a complete new way of approaching the western text of Acts [2].

CONCLUSION

From this survey it is clearly seen that textual criticism has made considerable progress during these last ten years. The most valuable contributions have been made in the field of the syriac text, the caesarean text and the text in the very beginning of christianity. The result of all these studies is that we are going to understand much more about the development of the text in the very beginning of its existence, but at the same time, that the knowledge of this development makes it very difficult to give rules in order to discover the original text. It appears that right from the beginning a great number of influences of total different nature influenced the text of the N.T. Nevertheless we may say that not in all parts of the ancient christian world the text of the N.T. was influenced in the same way. This was obviously largely depending on the amount of time before the four gospels were considered to be the only source of christian truth in a given area. In Syria this lasted for a long time. Another source of strange influences on the text is found in those areas where the greek text had to be translated. This was the case in the latin world and again in Syria. Next in an area like Palestine it was possible that translations of the N.T. influenced the greek text. It is remarkable to see that Egypt was the only place where a text could develop itself without too many possibilities of being influenced by strange elements. In this country Greek was the official language and after a beginning hidden in darkness we see a firm christian tradition around outstanding scholars like Pantaenus, Clement and Origen. Here was a climate where a text could develop itself without being open to careless handling. Therefore it is wise to investigate thoroughly the text of Egypt. From this text we must try to discover the background of the syrian and roman texts.

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[1] We may draw attention to Acts xiii 33: ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ τῷ δευτερῷ cum multi; τῷ πρωτῷ ψαλμῳ cum D gig Or. and τοὶς ψάλ[οις] in P^{45}. Both CERFAUX, *Citations*, p. 49 and HAENSCHEN, *Schriftzitate*, p. 157, are supposing that P^{45} shows the original text.

[2] G. GARITTE, *L'Ancienne Version Géorgienne des Actes des Apôtres*, in: *Bibl. du Muséon* 38, Louvain, 1955. His preliminary conclusions are: 1. The georgian text was translated from the armenian; 2. This armenian version deviates from the armenian vulgate, 3. This old armenian deviates from the peshitto; 4. The georgian version may have been influenced by a greek text.

THE QUOTATION FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT IN JOHN 12 : 34

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In John xii 34 an objection is raised by the crowd against a statement of Jesus: δεῖ ὑψωθῆναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, which leads to the question: who is this mysterious "Son of Man". In the present text of John this question is connected with the clear pronouncement of Jesus κἀγὼ ἐὰν ὑψωθῶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς, but the sequence of thought is extremely obscure. Bultmann 1) therefore, transferred this passage to ch. viii and connected it with verse 28: ὅταν ὑψώσητε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τότε γνώσεσθε ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι. I wonder why it is put here. Bultmann admits that there is a difficulty, because there is no explicit δεῖ ὑψωθῆναι in viii 28, but he tries to evade it by observing: "von der Erhöhung des Menschensohnes hat er ja gesprochen". It seems to me that xii 34 cannot be an answer to viii 28, because in the latter text we have a direct accusation of Jesus flung against the Jews, while the former has to do with a difficulty of a dogmatic kind. What Jesus has said about the necessity (δεῖ, here as often used in connection with God's plan 2)) of the lifting up of the Son of Man, conceived as His passing away 3) conflicts with a saying of the Scriptures about the Messiah. Therefore it seems much more plausible to make a connection with iii 14, as was done by Mc Gregor 4) and Noack 5): οὕτως ὑψωθῆναι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

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1) R. Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*^{11}, Göttingen 1950, S. 269-270.

2) Cf. E. Fascher, *Theologische Beobachtungen zu* δεῖ, in: *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann*, Berlin 1954, S. 242 ff.

3) W. Bauer, *Das Johannesevangelium*^{3}, Tübingen 1933, S. 164: „Die Volksmenge versteht die Erhöhung **34** als Entfernung von der Erde argumentiert von da aus gegen den Messiasanspruch Jesu"; on ὑψοῦν, see his note on John iii 14.

4) G. H. C. Macgregor, *The Gospel of John*, London 1928, p. 77 f., 268.

5) B. Noack, *Zur johanneischen Tradition*, København 1954, S. 146.

We have here before us a situation similair to vii 27, vii 41-42, vii 52. In all these instances Jesus' origin is not in accordance with the dogmatic picture of the Messiah current in Jewish circles, partly derived from the Scriptures. xii 34 offers another example of a statement by Jesus which hurts against the accepted teaching about the Messiah. If the conception of the Fourth Gospel as a missionary book for the synagogues of the Diaspure, as put forward in my paper on "the purpose of St. John's Gospel" [1]) is right, these features of debates on points of Jewish messianology are an important confirmation of that view. Stumbling-blocks on the way to accepting Jesus as the Messiah (xx 31) which consisted of (seeming) conflicts with accepted doctrine had to be removed.

At the basis of this text lies the identity of the terms ,,Christ"-Messiah, and "Son of Man". This is not a special feature of this gospel, but is also found in the Synoptics and certain Jewish groups [2]). The expression Jesus uses with regard to the future of this "Son of Man" being in conflict with their doctrine makes the Jews ask, what is meant by this "Son of Man". Their objection is derived from the "Law": ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Only the last three words are marked both by Nestle and Kilpatrick [3]) as a direct quotation. But it seems clear from the context that the contrast here lies in the verbs: Jesus speaks of ὑψωθῆναι—going away in one form or another [4]), while the "Law" speaks of remaining. So at least we must keep in mind this permanent μένειν. Another reason for concentrating the attention upon μένειν lies in the fact, that, as is brought to light by the concordance, this verb plays a prominent part in the theology of the Gospel.

This doctrine has, as is clearly indicated, a scriptural basis. But which? All modern commentators agree in pointing out that νόμος here is not the Mosaic Law, but Scripture in general, as sometimes in later Jewish writings [5]), and that John offers two more instances, viz. x 34 and xv 25. Let it, however, be noticed that both these texts give an identifiable quotation and both are taken from the Psalms.

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[1]) W. C. van Unnik, *The purpose of St. John's Gospel*, in: *Studia Evangelica*, Berlin 1959, p. 382 ff.

[2]) W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalte.*^{3}, Tübingen 1926, S. 228, 259 ff.

[3]) In their edition: Nestle^{23}, 1957 and Kilpatrick^{2}, 1958.

[4]) See the quotation from W. Bauer p. 174, nt. 3.

[5]) See e.g. Bauer ad x 34.

In this case xii 34 it is different according to the commentaries. Bultmann says: "Ob der Evangelist an bestimmte Schriftstellen gedacht hat, ist schwer zu sagen" 1); Bernard: "the reference is somewhat vague" 2). And so do all the others. Is this a case like that former one in vii 39? Usually a number of texts from the O.T. and later Jewish litterature are called to the aid. But do they match the need? Let us see:

Ps. 109 (110): 4: σὺ εἶ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδεκ.

Is. ix 6: μεγάλη ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅριον ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον Δαυιδ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ κατορθῶσαι αὐτὴν καὶ ἀντιλαβέσθαι αὐτῆς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἐν κρίματι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον.

Ezech. xxxvii 25: καὶ Δαυιδ ὁ δοῦλός μου ἄρχων αὐτῶν ἔσται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

Dan. vii 4 LXX (of the Son of Man) καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἐξουσία αἰώνιος, ἥτις οὐ μὴ ἀρθῇ, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ, ἥτις οὐ μὴ φθαρῇ—Θ: ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἐξουσία αἰώνιος ἥτις οὐ παρελεύσεται καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ οὐ διαφθαρήσεται.

i Enoch xlix 1: and glory faileth not before him for evermore; lxii 14: and with that Son of Man shall they eat and lie down and rise up for ever and ever.

Ps. Sol. xvii 4: σύ, κύριε, ᾑρετίσω τὸν Δαυιδ βασιλέα ἐπὶ Ἰσραηλ καὶ σὺ ὤμοσας περὶ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ μὴ ἐκλείπειν ἀπέναντί σου βασίλειον αὐτοῦ (this text is generally quoted, though it is taken from Ps. 88 (89): 4) 3).

Orac. Sybill. iii 49-50: ἥξει δ'ἁγνὸς ἄναξ πάσης γῆς σκῆπτρα κρατήσων/εἰς αἰῶνας ἅπαντας ἐπειγομένοιο χρόνοιο. iii 767 f. (not as in Bauer and Bultmann: 766): καὶ τότε δὴ ἐξεγερεῖ βασιλήιον εἰς αἰῶνας πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους κτλ.

In reviewing these texts which we printed in full to make the comparison easier than is done by a mere enumeration of the numbers, we find:

(a) that all text have a messianic content;

(b) that they all speak of an eternal *reign*.

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1) Bultmann, *a.a.O.*, S. 270, Ak. 2.

2) J. H. Bernard, *The Gospel according to St. John*, Edinburgh 1928, ii p. 443.

3) Cf. H. E. Ryle-M. R. James, *The Psalms of Solomon*, Cambridge 1891, p. 129.

But does this cover the wording and contents of the objection made by the Jews? It may seem somewhat bold to question a venerable exegetical tradition which in its basic idea is to be found already in Grotius and is shared by all modern commentators from whatever school. Nevertheless it is remarkable that the main verb of John xii 34 μένει does not occur in any of these texts. Still more serious is a shift of words that has silently crept in. Hoskyns uses the following paraphrase of the text: "The opinion of the Jews that according to the Scriptures the dominion of the Messiah would *abide for ever*" [1]. But John does not mention a "*dominion* of the Messiah"; speaks of the *person* of the Messiah and this personal aspect dominates the discussion. This makes all the difference. Therefore the texts quoted before are irrelevant, because they deal with the Messiah's reign, but not with the Messiah Himself.

It is curious to notice that even where Bultmann gives a number of passages where μένειν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα is used [2], he leaves out the O.T. And yet the evangelist himself points in that direction. It is not only said that the Lord's counsel (Ps. 32 [33] : 11—Prov. 19 : 21), His righteousness (Ps. 110 [111] : 3, 111 [112] : 3, 9), His praise (Ps. 110 [111] : 10), His truth (Ps. 116 [111] : 2), His word (Is. 40 : 8) μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα but also the Lord Himself (Ps. 9 : 7, 101 [102] : 12, cf. Dan. vi 26 (27). It is remarkable that this expression is so frequent in the Psalms, far more than in other parts of the O.T. This is in accordance with our observation about the extended meaning of νόμος in John. (see before p. 175). But none of these texts has a messianic ring.

That, however, is the case in one particular text which was left undiscussed so far: Ps. lxxxviii (lxxxix) 37 τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ (= David) εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μένει. This psalm is full of promises for David and his house (vs. 3-5 20 ff.); repeatedly it is said that God's steadfast love will abide with David and his house εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (vs. 3, 5, 28-29, 36, 37, 52) in spite even of the transgression of David's descendents. It has been given a messianic interpretation, as may be seen from the famous Psalm of Solomon 17 (see before), the New Testament 1) and rabbinic sources 2). It was immediately suggested by the text itself, where David is spoken of as being anointed (vs. 21) and where the rejection of the anointed is mentioned (vs. 39, 52) 3). The Greek text uses here χρίω and χριστός This specific text is quoted in Gen. R. (Vayechi) XCVII: "the royal Messiah will be descended from the tribe of Judah . . . Judah was the fourth of the tribal ancestors to be born, just as the *daleth* is the fourth letter of the alphabet and is the fourth letter in his name. On the fourth day too the luminaries were created, while of the Messiah it is written, *And his throne* [shall endure] *as the sun before Me* 4), this being the sequel of our verse Ps. lxxxix 37: καὶ ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος ἐναντίον μου (cf. also Tanchuma as quoted in Strack-Billerbeck III p. 395). In later Christian Testimonia-literature this verse served as a witness to Christ the King, as may be seen from Eusebius, *Dem. Ev.* VII 3, 3 ff.

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[1] E. Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel* , ed. F. N. Davey, London 1947, p. 427. — C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, Cambridge 1953, p. 91 speaks also of the „dominion" of the Messiah in this connection. — W. F. Howard, *The Gospel of St. John*, in: *The Interpreters Bible*, New York-Nashville 1952, viii p. 670: "There is no place in the O.T. where it is said expressly that the Messiah will reign forever upon the earth".

[2] R. Bultmann, *a.a.O.*, Ergänzungsheft, S. 25 on S. 164, Ak. 7 of the commentary.

Of course there exists a difference in wording between Ps. 88 (89): 37 and John xii 34, resp. τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ and ὁ χριστός. But to anyone accustomed to the rabbinic methods of exegesis this difference will not form a grave difficulty, because:

1) in John vii 42 a Jewish doctrine concerning the Messiah is expressed in the words that He is ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Δαυιδ, where one is referred to 2 Sam. vii 12 and Ps. 89 4-5 5). If it was said that the "seed of David" would remain for ever, it did apply a fortiori to the "Son of David" which is a well-known name for the Messiah. 6)

2) the text, quoted before from *Gen.R.* shows that there the identification of "His seed" with the Messiah is understood; the posses-

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1) Vs. 4-5 = Act. ii 30; vs. 11 = Lc. i 51; vs. 21 = Act. xiii 22; vs. 31 = Apoc. i 5, iii 14.

2) See various places referred to by H. L. Strack-P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, München 1928, IV S. 1308, Register under Psalm 89.

3) Irenaeus, *Epideixis* 75 quotes vs. 39 ff. in proof of the humiliation of Christ during His life on earth.

4) Translation of H. Freedman, London 1939, ii p. 899.

5) Cf. in the N.T. Rom. i 3, 2 Tim. ii 8 and Acts xiii 22-23 ἤγειρεν τὸν Δαυιδ αὐτοῖς εἰς βασιλέα, ᾧ καὶ εἶπεν μαρτηρήσας· εὗρον Δαυιδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαι, ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, ὅς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θελήματα μου. τούτου ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος κατ'ἐπαγγελίαν ἤγαγεν τῷ Ἰσραηλ σωτῆρα Ἰησοῦν.

6) Billerbeck, I S. 12, 525.

sive pronom in "His throne" must refer back to the former part of the verse.

3) one may draw an analogy from Gal. iii 16, where Paul deduces from the singular τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ in Gen. xii 7 the conclusion ὅς ἐστιν χριστός along lines familiar in rabbinic exegesis [1]).

Though an explicit text in which Ps. 88 (89): 37 is found with the reading "the Anointed One" in stead of "His seed" is not yet found (besides John xii 34), it is quite in line with rabbinic exegesis to interprete τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ by ὁ χριστός. At any rate this text is far more suitable as the source for John xii 34 and could more easily be adopted than any of the others adduced so far. It has the advantage of: a) being a specific text and not a vague reminiscense; b) being taken from the Psalms, as x 34, xv 25; c) speaking about a personality; d) offering a parallel to the most important part of the text and not only to a somewhat general εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

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[1]) J. BONSIRVEN, *Exégèse rabbinique et exégèse paulinienne*, Paris 1939, p. 298-299. — In later Hebrew זרע = σπέρμα was used of a single person, cf. W. GESENIUS-F. BUHL, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*^{17}, Leipzig 1921, S. 207-208.

INVENTAIRE DE QUARANTE-ET-UN PORTEURS DU NOM DE JÉSUS DANS L'HISTOIRE JUIVE ÉCRITE EN GREC

UN JÉSUS D'ANANOS PRÉDISANT LA RUINE DU TEMPLE
JÉSUS, NOM DE LIEU

PAR

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Retraçons la longue histoire un peu trop méconnue du nom que Jésus de Nazareth a rendu si auguste. Montrons qu'il avait déjà été glorieusement porté et qu'il était très répandu au moment où on allait lui conférer cet ultime et incomparable éclat que la *Lettre aux Philippiens* n'hésita pas à prédire:

,,Et, ayant été trouvé *comme* un homme, il s'humilia, devenu obéissant jusqu'à la mort, *et la mort de la croix*. C'est pourquoi Dieu l'a surélevé, et lui a fait grâce du NOM, le NOM au-dessus de tout, pour que, *au nom de Jésus*, se courbe tout genou de ceux qui sont au-dessus des cieux, sur la terre, et sous le sol. Et toute langue confessera que SEIGNEUR JESUS-CHRIST est pour la gloire du Dieu Père.'' (2.7-11).

La prophétie s'est réalisée, ce nom a été l'occasion incessante de reporter de la gloire à Dieu même. Ce fut annoncé avec une tranquille audace, car, enfin, Paul ne pouvait parfois s'empêcher de se rendre compte que les sectateurs de celui qui avait été humilié de ,,la mort de la croix'' entre deux malfaiteurs semblaient n'être encore que ,,la balayure de tous'' (πάντων περίψημα) en ce monde.'' (I Cor. iv 13), ce qu'il atténuait d'ailleurs aussitôt en ajoutant ,,jusqu'à présent'' (ἕως ἄρτι). On mesure ainsi le chemin parcouru entre le mépris d'un Celse, d'un Porphyre ou d'un Julien et le final triomphe du nom de celui qui, incorporé dans la Trinité, devint le Dieu de la civilisation des Blancs. Le nom de Jésus est devenu si auguste que, à part dans certains pays de l'Amérique latine, on n'ose même plus le donner comme prénom. Et si ce prénom a cessé d'être porté par excès de respect parmi les Chrétiens, il tomba tout autant en désuétude dans le milieu juif orthodoxe par l'effet d'un sentiment opposé [1]. L'indifférence à l'égard de ce nom devint donc partout à peu près inconcevable. On le vénérait ou on le maudissait.

Ce que l'on oublie trop, c'est que le nom de Jésus, bien avant l'apparition du fondateur du christianisme, avait déjà toute une histoire dans le monde juif usant du grec. Il avait été porté par un héros de la race, le successeur de Moïse et le conquérant de la Palestine, par un des restaurateurs après l'Exil (grand prêtre favorisé d'une exceptionnelle vision de Satan dans le Temple), par onze grands prêtres (dont un massacré par son frère en plein Temple, un autre qui hellénisait, un autre massacré par les zélotes pour son attitude conservatrice, un autre encore qui fut transfuge chez les Romains), par trois prêtres (dont un livreur de matériel à Titus) par quatre lévites, par quatre fonctionnaires civils (dont un préfet de la Ville sous Josias), par trois lettrés (dont un historien du roi Josaphat, et un autre qui n'est pas moindre que l'auteur de l'Ecclésiastique). Aux jours de la Révolte, le nom fut porté par quatre aventuriers ou meneurs de bandes, qui causèrent à Josèphe beaucoup de soucis. Il fut aussi porté par un humble, un prophète de malheur qui, sept ans durant, fut constamment vilipendé parce qu'il annonçait la ruine de la Ville, et qui périt par un projectile romain sur les remparts.

Ce qui est généralement ignoré, c'est que 'Ιησοῦς servit même de toponyme à la LXX, en un passage où le grec correspond mal à l'hébreu dans son ensemble (2 Esdr. grec xxi 26, en hébreu Néhémie xi, 26). Il est dit que des fils de Iouda s'établirent "ἐν Καριαθαρβοκ, ἐν Ιησου καὶ ἐν Βεηρσαβεε". Le mot hébreu ainsi rendu est ישוע.

En fait, cette forme 'Ιησοῦς, déclinable [2] en grec, servit beaucoup à transposer des noms hébreux ou araméens parfois *assez dissemblables*. Leur étude systématique n'existe pas encore. Sans doute peut-on lire une longue liste de 'Ιησοῦς dans les Concordances de Hatch et Redpath, mais tous les Jésus d'importance secondaire y sont nommés pêle-mêle, et il est évident que le pénible effort de les discerner et de les classer complètement n'y a pas été tenté. En plus, aux Jésus nommés dans la Septante et dans ses variantes, il convient d'ajouter non seulement les Jésus du Nouveau Testament mais encore les nombreux Jésus qui figurent dans les oeuvres de Josèphe. Car si, d'après ce que l'on admet aujourd'hui, il n'y a pas eu ou il ne subsiste plus d'allusions authentiques à Jésus de Nazareth dans ses oeuvres, nous serons surpris de constater avec combien de Jésus il eut maille à partir durant son gouvernement de la Galilée révoltée.

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[1] Il était très répandu (vulgatissimum) parmi les Juifs, note Buxtorf (Lexicon, édit. Fisher, Leipzig, 1875, p. 502) de décomposer les lettres du nom de Jésus en ומה שמו וזכרו (deleatur nomen eius et memoria eius).

Observons que cette décomposition atteste que, non seulement parmi les Grecs, mais encore dans l'hébreu de synagogue et en araméen, le nom ישוע s'était usé et simplifié en ישו et que la première syllabe n'était plus sonorisée en Yo. Notons à ce propos cet excellent résumé de Buxtorf (ibid.):

"Graeci, abjecta ultima gutturali, addunt sibi familiarem terminationem et dicunt 'Ιησοῦς. Sic prisci Babyloni et Talmudici dixerunt ישו pro ישוע". Relevons que le nom de Jésus de Nazareth fut ainsi écrit dans le Talmud (Bab. Synh. 103 a et 107 b, et ailleurs).

[2] Comme la déclinaison de 'Ιησοῦς, à notre connaissance, ne figure dans aucun répertoire, nous l'établissons par un relevé des cas observés:

Scrutons les origines de cette forme grecque 'Ιησοῦς. Ce qui est très communément connu, c'est qu'elle apparut quand les hellénistes d'Alexandrie furent amenés à transposer le nom du héros de la conquête que nous appelons *Josué*, celui-là même par qui nous nommons le dernier livre de l'Hexateuque [1]).

Les deux formes longues hébraïques יהושע et יהושוע et la forme abrégée plus fréquente ישוע du nom du conquérant ne furent jamais autrement rendues en grec que par 'Ιησοῦς, et c'est encore le nom qu'il porte jusqu'à nos jours parmi les grecs orthodoxes,

Nom. 'Ιησοῦς. Gén. 'Ιησοῦ. Deux. *datifs*: 'Ιησοι et 'Ιησοῦ. *Acc.* 'Ιησοῦν. Le datif 'Ιησοι, qui paraîtra si insolite aux lecteurs du Nouveau Testament, figure 14 fois dans le livre de Josué (i, 16, iv 1, 2 fois en iv 8, iv 10, iv 15, v 2, v 9, vii 20, viii 27, ix 3, ix 30 (ix 24 dans une autre numérotation), xxi 42 b). Ce datif figure 3 fois dans le Deutéronome (iii 21, iii 28, xxxi 23) Le datif 'Ιησοῦ est rare dans ces livres (exemple en Jos. xvii 14).

[1]) Les formes hébraïques des noms de ceux que nous appelons Josué, Osaïas et Osée ont ceci en commun d'être construites sur deux formes verbales d'une racine exprimant l'idée de *sauver*: ישו et הושיע. Une sonorisation adéquate permettait de reconnaître aisément le nom du Dieu qui sauve (Yaho, Yeho, Yahou, Yo, Yah) au début du nom de Josué le conquérant, et à la fin du nom du prophète Isaïe. On continua à aimer à reconnaître ce sens de ,,Dieu sauveur '' dans la transposition grecque, malgré la prononciation itacisante *Yisous*, car si cette déformation permettait encore de *deviner* le sens primitif de *sauver*, elle ne pouvait plus évoquer le nom divin prononcé en Yo (qui s'est réintroduit dans notre ,,Josué'', plus près de la source que le grec et le latin Iesus). Toutefois, ceux qui étaient assez instruits pour connaître la prononciation en Yo imposée par la Massore à la forme courte étaient encore exposés à reconnaître dans le nom, par comparaison et interprétation, le nom Yo ou Yeho divin.

moins exposés que nous à oublier qu'il ne diffère aucunement du qu'il nom humain du Logos.

Commençons donc notre inventaire en considérant attentivement ce Josué-Jésus qui ouvre la liste assez longue des Ἰησοῦς grecs.

1. *Jésus-Josué le conquérant, le successeur de Moïse,* en hébreu *Yehoshoua,* ou, dans la forme abrégée, *Yoshoua.* En hébreu le fils de *Nun* [1]), en grec un *Jésus* fils de *Navé.* C'est évidemment le plus illustre des Jésus dans l'histoire juive écrite en grec, et aucun autre n'aurait pu le dépasser en prestige avant le Jésus qui fonda le christianisme. Il est tellement connu que nous n'aurons pas besoin de nous étendre beaucoup à son sujet. Relevons cependant quelques détails:

Bien que sa consécration par Moïse et Eléazar [2]) ne se lise que dans les Nombres (xxvii 18 et 22), il intervient pourtant déjà anticipativement dans l'Exode (xvii 9, 10, 13, 14 et xxiv 13 et encore xxxii 17 et xxxiii 11). Il apparaît 8 fois dans le Deutéronome. Il nous semble qu'on a négligé de s'étonner que, alors qu'il est nommé dans trois des quatre livres du Pentateuque susceptibles de parler de lui, *il est totalement ignoré par le Lévitique* [3]).

Dans la LXX, son nom abonde, cela va sans dire, dans le livre qui porte son nom (le livre grec de *Jésus,* notre livre de Josué). A une ou deux unités près, nous croyons l'y avoir relevé 149 fois. Il est encore nommé 6 fois dans le Livre des Juges, et son nom a été forcément repris quelquefois dans les livres plus tardifs: une fois dans le troisième livre des Rois (xvi 34) une fois dans le second livre d'Esdras *grec* (xviii 17), deux fois dans le Siracide, une fois dans le premier livre des Maccabées (ii 55), une fois dans le second

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[1]) Attendu que le nom du père de Josué n'est pas *Navé* en hébreu, mais bien *Nun,* et que ce mot signifie „poisson" en sémitique, nous émettons la conjecture que „Josué-Jésus, fils du Poisson" peut avoir joué dans les associations d'idées qui ont fait du *poisson* un signe secret pour désigner Jésus. Nous avions déjà proposé par écrit cette conjecture à M. R. Goossens il y a plusieurs années quand M. Wittek l'a aussi proposée dans une réunion du Séminaire de Byzantinisme présidée par M. H. Grégoire en 1956. Nous sommes tombé là d'accord avec lui.

[2]) D'après les transpositions de la LXX, Αυση avait été le premier nom de notre Josué (Nb xiii 9), changé par Moïse lui-même en Ἰησοῦς. Mais cette modification qui semble importante dans le grec se comprend mieux si l'on compare le léger glissement exprimé par l'hébreu: יהשע au lieu de הושע.

[3]) Est-ce une note caractéristique secondaire de ce traité qui, voulant accorder une place éminente aux prêtres *lévitiques,* aurait systématiquement ignoré celui qu'il ne considérait que comme un chef militaire?

(xii 15), une fois dans l'épisode de Bel et du Dragon en Daniel (dans le prologue).

L'auteur du livre de l'Ecclésiastique qui, ne l'oublions pas, fut lui-même un Jésus, n'a pas manqué de faire l'éloge de Jésus-Josué lorsqu'il passe en revue les grands ancêtres. Il écrit que „*selon son nom*, il est devenu grand dans le *salut* des choisis.'' (xlvi 1). Ce qui implique que l'auteur ne perdait pas de vue un sens qui devait avoir été communément reconnu dans le nom hébreu [1]).

Le Nouveau Testament a fait allusion à Josué le conquérant, et, tout naturellement, c'est Ἰησοῦς qu'il l'appelle (Actes, vii 45). C'est lui que des chrétiens grecs reconnaissaient immédiatement en un passage de la Lettre aux Hébreux (iv 8), où nous serions plus facilement induits en erreur, d'autant plus que la traduction latine n'a pas rétabli là (comme la Vulgate l'a généralement fait) la forme Josué, mais écrit *Iesus*. Car il fut un temps où les ressemblances entre les noms de Josué et de Jésus étaient si obvies que Jérôme (qui est pourtant le principal responsable de l'introduction de la forme archaïsante *Josué* en latin) écrivit: „Iosue fuit typus Domini, non solum in gestis, sed etiam in nomine.'' (Lettres. P.L. t. 22, col. 545). Il pensait donc encore à *Iesus* quand il lui substituait *Iosue*.

Et après Jésus-Josué (le prototype des Jésus) il y eut beaucoup d'autres Jésus, parmi lesquels des personnages notables et aussi pas mal de gens obscurs et oubliés. Continuons l'inventaire:

2. *Jésus Beth-Shemesh* (ou: Jésus-temple du Soleil). Le nom de Ἰησοῦ lui fut donné par Origène, la LXX l'appelant Ωσηε, ce qui prouve encore l'étroite connexion entre les noms de Josué et d'Osée pour ce qui concerne le sens [2]).

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[1]) Chose curieuse et peu connue, de propos délibéré, l'usage s'établit parmi les Juifs d'employer le nom de Jésus ישוע pour désigner une rançon ou פדיון (Dalman. Aram.-neuhebr. Wörterb. 1922, p. 189 et p. 328). Nous croyons qu'il est également intéressant de relever que Krupnik et Silberman (Dict. Talm. Midrash et Targum, 1927, t. 1. p. 387) signalent que les graphies ישוע הבן désignaient techniquement la rançon du *fils premier-né* qui, sans ces substitutions, aurait du être, en principe, sacrifié. Et nous observerons que dans ces graphies, on pouvait lire directement aussi: *Jésus le fils*! Et que d'associations pouvaient donc naître à ce propos dans les idées et les images: Jésus le fils . . . Jésus la rançon . . . Les Juifs pouvaient penser à Isaac. Les Chrétiens pouvaient penser à la fois à Isaac et à Jésus, et au Père acceptant l'immolation du Fils.

[2]) A vrai dire, traduit littéralement, le nom de ce personnage est assez curieux: Yehoshua-maison de *mon* Soleil ou peut-être encore Yehoshua-

Si, par commodité, on a parfois tenté de confondre ce personnage avec le conquérant de la Palestine, ce n'est évident pas soutenable chronologiquement par le contexte, d'autant plus que, jamais ailleurs en aucun endroit, on n'a associé le nom du conquérant à Beth-Shemesh. C'est dans le champ de ce personnage de Beth-Shemesh que l'on montrait la grande pierre où l'on avait posé l'Arche resitutée par les Philistins terrorisés et ornée par eux de sortes d'ex-votos pendus [1]).

3. *Jésus, fils d'Obed, et père d'Azarya* (I Paral. ii 38), qui figure dans les listes généalogiques parmi les descendants de Juda par Yerameel. C'est le *Vaticanus* qui l'appelle 'Ἰησοῦς. Observons, que ce "Jésus" rend ici un nom hébreu assez différent, qui est יהוא.

4. *Jésus, descendant de Caleb* (I Par. ii 47). C'est le *Vaticanus* encore qui l'appelle Jésus. Le nom hébreu יהדי est encore tout autre.

5. *Jésus, notaire ou scribe de David* (2 Reg. grec ou 2 Sam. xx 25). C'est le *Vaticanus* encore qui l'appelle 'Ἰησοῦς γραμματεύς, d'autres versions donnant Σουσα et Ισους. Le nom hébreu est שיא, affecté d'un qéré שוא. C'est vraisemblablement le même personnage que le *Vaticanus* nomme encore ailleurs 'Ἰησοῦς (I Paral. xviii 16) où il correspond à un hébreu שוא (targum: שישא). (Autres variantes grecques de ce nom en I Paral. xviii 16: Σουσα et Σους).

6. *Jésus le neuvième* ('Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἔνατος, I Paral. xxiv 11). Nos traductions françaises l'appellent souvent Jésus. Il occupait le neuvième rang parmi les prêtres de David. Son nom hébreu est ישוע (le nom court de Josué le conquérant).

7. *Jésus, fils d'Anani*, auteur du ,,discours" et ,,historien des rois d'Israël" (2 Paral. xx 34): ἐν λόγοις 'Ἰησοῦ του 'Ανανι, ὅς κατέγραφεν βιβλίον βασιλέων 'Ισραήλ.

Le texte nous avertit que la ,,Chronique" de ce Jésus comportait une vie détaillée du roi *Josaphat*. Ce fut donc une source, très

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maison des soleils, au cas ou le *i* final, indubitablement présent dans l'hébreu, serait expliqué comme un résidu de pluriel construit: יהושע בית־השמשי. (I Sam. vi 14 et 18).

[1]) Gesenius-Buhl (17e édition) donne toujours pour sens à טחוים ,,Geschwülste am After (mariscae hemorrhoides), die sich beim Stuhlzwange hervordrängen." Rappelons Jérôme: ,,et percussit in secretiore parte natium". Il écrit encore ,,et computrescebant prominentes extales eorum". Les malheureux devaient se faire des ,,sedes pelliceas". Il ne peut donc être question de bubons pesteux, généralement mortels et situés ailleurs.

tôt perdue, de l'histoire juive, et qui est vraiment bien peu mentionnée dans les répertoires.

C'est le *Vaticanus* qui appelle cet historien 'Ιησοῦς, les autres versions le nommant Ιου. Son nom hébreu est יהוא. C'est la quatrième fois que nous voyons le nom de 'Ιησοῦς choisi comme l'équivalent de noms hébreux par le *Vaticanus. Dégageons donc incidemment cette préférence dans le choix comme une caractéristique secondaire de cette version.*

8. *Jésus, l'assistant-distributeur-des-dons* (2 Paral. xxxi 15), qui est souvent appelé Jésus dans les traductions françaises. Avec d'autres, il fait partie du corps des fonctionnaires-lévites organisés par Ezéchia. Il est de ceux qui, hors de Jérusalem, dans les villes sacerdotales, secondent le chef Coré, qui est le préposé général à la réception et à la répartition des dons volontaires au Temple. Son nom hébreu est ישוע (la forme courte du nom du conquérant).

9. *Jésus, préfet* (*sâr*) *de Jérusalem sous Josia.* Ce יהשע est généralement devenu un Josué dans les traductions françaises (4 Reg. xxiii 8). 1) Son nom est curieusement associé à une ,,porte'' dans le relevé des destructions des éléments idolâtriques opérées lors des réformes jahwistes de Josia, au moment où l'on ,,découvrit'' dans le Temple le livre où l'on a cru voir le Deutéronome dans son noyau primitif.

(Observons que, à lire l'hébreu, on pouvait tout aussi bien associer le nom de ce Yoshoua-Jésus à une Porte שער, qu'à des idoles שערים, mot dans lequel on reconnaît aujourd'hui, par exemple, des "boucs" et un ,,temple des boucs'' (Bible de Jérusalem). Or le grec, *en apparence* si aberrant, avait compris ceci: ,,Il détruisit la maison des pylônes (τὸν οἶκον τῶν πυλῶν), celle près de la porte du pylône ou portail (τὸν παρὰ τὴν θύραν τῆς πύλης) de Jésus, le commandant de la ville. (Ιησου ἄρχοντος τῆς πόλεως).

Boucs et *piliers* idolâtriques, ou encore *portes* avec animaux idolâtriques ont donc pu parfaitement se confondre).

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1) Pour éviter les incommodités qu'on éprouvées certains lecteurs de nos feuilles, nous nous excusons de rappeler les équivalences suivantes entre la LXX et l'hébreu:

I Rois et 2 Rois grecs = I Samuel et 2 Samuel hébreux.

Les 10 premiers chapitres du 2 Esdras grec = Esdras hébreu = I Esdras de la Vulgate.

Les chapitres suivants du 2 Esdras grec = Néhémie hébreu = 2 Esdras de la Vulgate. (Ajouter 10 à un chiffre donné pour Néhémie pour trouver l'Esdras grec)

I Esdras grec = 3 Esdras de la Vulgate.

Voici maintenant les Jésus de la période de l'Exil et du Retour:

10. *Jésus, père d'un prophète Habacuc voyageant par les airs.* Ce nom se lit dans le titre du texte *grec* de la péricope de Bel et du Dragon, à la fin du livre de Daniel. Gardons-nous de confondre le fils de ce Jésus avec le petit prophète Habacuc bien connu. Mais il s'appelle comme lui, en grec, Αμβακουμ.

Voici ce qui est arrivé à cet Habacuc, et qui est aujourd'hui pas mal oublié. Il venait de préparer une pitance qu'il portait à des moissonneurs travaillant en Judée quand, soudain, il fut prié par un ange de porter cette nourriture en Babylonie, à Daniel dans la fosse aux lions. Et comme Habacuc arguait qu'il ne savait rien ni de la Babylonie ni de la situation de cette fosse, l'ange le prit par les cheveux et le transporta par les airs jusqu'auprès de Daniel, juste le temps de lui laisser déposer sa pitance ¹).

Il apparaît que, durant l'Exil, ou même avant, un certain nombre de Jésus avaient dû faire souche, car on ne pourrait s'expliquer sans un délai suffisamment long l'apparition d'un nombre élevé de leurs descendants au temps d'Esdras et du Retour. Nous avons constaté qu'il n'est pas aisé de classer ces différents Jésus, mais on peut cependant discerner parmi eux ce minimum de personnages distincts:

11. *Jésus chef d'une famille* dont des descendants par Phabath-Moab, totalisés avec ceux de Joab, donnèrent au recensement 2812 personnes (d'après 2 Esdras grec ii 6), ou 2818 personnes (d'après Néhémie vii 11). Le nom hébreu de cet ancêtre est ישוע et Ιησουε en grec.

12. *Jésus, ancêtre* de 973 *prêtres* qui descendent de lui par Ιεουδα (Esdr. ii 36) ou par Ιωδας (Néh. vii 39). Il porte le même nom hébreu que le précédent. Observons que l'on parlait d'une ,,maison de Jésus'' (τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰησοῦ).

Et voici un Jésus qui semble être encore vivant au moment du Retour:

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¹) Le thème du transport aérien se retrouvera dans l'Evangile selon les Hébreux cité par Origène (Comm. in Joan. t. 2. P.G. t. 14, col. 132) où Jésus dit que ,,sa mère'' l'Esprit-Saint l'a saisi par un cheveu et l'a déposé au sommet du mont Thabor.

Le transport par les cheveux est un thème ancien. Il n'était pas rare de croiser à Tanger (du moins il y a trente-cinq ans) certains sectateurs du Rif à l'aspect farouche, qui, contrairement à la prescription sémitique de la tête couverte, ne conservaient sur le crâne rasé qu'une longue touffe de poils permettant aux anges de les transporter plus aisément au Paradis.

13. *Jésus, chef de lévites* (2 Esdr. xii 24). L’hébreu (Néh. xii 24), en fait un fils de Qadmiel ישוע בן קדמיאל, alors que le grec distingue là ’Ιησου καὶ υἱοί καδμιηλ. Il semble y avoir eu des confusions en raison d’une tradition trop complexe et d’un nom trop répandu, car, si le texte grec semble ailleurs faire, lui aussi, un descendant de Qadmiel de ce Jésus (οἱ Λευῖται υἱοὶ ’Ιησοῦ τῳ καδμιηλ) il en parle différemment ailleurs (2 Esdr. grec, xix 4 et 5). C’est probablement à ce même Jésus qu’il est encore fait allusion en 2 Esdras grec (xxii 7), dans une liste de lévites revenus ,,aux jours’’ de Jésus, un *autre* Jésus encore, un personnage jadis illustre, le plus important des Jésus de l’histoire juive ancienne aprés Jésus-Josué, car il était le coéquipier de Zorobabel, et avait dirigé *comme son égal en pouvoir* le retour de l’exil. Nous aurons à reparler de ce personnage considérable au no 14.

14. *Jésus, fils de Josedek* (’Ιησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ιωσεδεκ) Si le Jésus-Josué successeur de Moïse avait introduit son peuple en Palestine, ce Jésus de Josedek l’y ramena avec Zorobabel. Aussi, dans son éloge des grands ancêtres, Jésus le Siracide aura soin de ne pas les séparer:

,,Comment glorifierons-nous Zorobabel? Il est comme le sceau de la main droite! *De même Jésus, le fils de Josedek*! Eux qui, en leurs jours, bâtirent la Maison et relevèrent le Temple saint du Seigneur, préparé pour la gloire de l’Eternité’’. (Ecclésiastique, xlix 11-12).

Comprenons donc bien ceci: il y avait, avant le Jésus du Christianisme, *deux grand héros* dans l’histoire juive qui avaient porté ce nom chez les hellénistes et qui, tous deux, avaient assuré à Israël la possession de son sol, par conquête ou par reprise des droits. Et l’on commencera à mieux comprendre ainsi qu’il y avait des raisons de présenter ce nom comme imposé au Fils de Marie à Joseph endormi [1]), car il était évocateur et *très approprié à certains espoirs* que rappellent encore quelques phrases isolées telles que, dans la péricope des pélerins d’Emmaüs: ,,Jésus le Nazoréen, qui fut un homme *puissant en oeuvre* et en paroles . . . nous, nous pensions que c’était lui qui venait *pour racheter Israël*.’’ (Lc. xxiv 19-21), ou encore, la péricope rappelant que la veuve Anne ,,parlait de lui à tous ceux qui attendaient *le rachat d’Israël*’’, le fait enfin que, sur le „titre de la Croix", il était question d'un „roi des Juifs".

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[1]) Dans le document que nous avons appelé ,,l’Oniriste’’. Cfr. Annuaire de l’Institut de Philologie et d’Hist. orient. et slave, t. XIII, pp. 665-670.

Observons, d'ailleurs, que, pour un lettré alexandrin de qualité comme Philon, le nom de Jésus semblait *du meilleur ton* et signifiait „le salut du Seigneur" (De Mutatione nominum, 21. Ed. Wendland, p. 177: Ἰησοῦς δὲ σωτηρία κυρίου, ἕξεως ὄνομα τῆς ἀρίστης).

Montrons l'importance accordée à Jésus de Josedek. Le premier livre d'Esdras de la LXX le mentionne 14 fois. Son nom revient 11 fois dans les 10 premiers chapitres du 2 Esdras grec, et 13 fois encore dans les chapitres suivants, correspondant à notre livre de Néhémie.

Il est deux petits prophètes qui conservent particulièrement l'écho des émotions associées à la période dramatique et malaisée du Retour: Sophonie et Aggée, qui se réfèrent tous deux au règne de Darius. Il est à noter qu'aucun d'eux ne parle d'Esdras et de Néhémie. Dans Aggée, par contre, Zorobabel et Josué-Jésus sont les coryphées étroitement associés. Il nomme quatre fois (i 1, i 12, i 14, ii 2) Jésus de Josedek en l'appelant le prêtre grand, et il l'interpelle (ii 4) en l'adjurant d'être prompt et zélé dans la reconstruction. Zacharie l'appelle aussi deux fois le prêtre grand (iii 1, vi 11) et le nomme encore deux autres fois (iii 6, iii 8).

A lire attentivement les récits du Retour, on gagne inévitablement l'impression qu'il exista des traditions diverses relativement à la désignation des meneurs responsables. Parfois, ce sont les plus anciens, Zorobabel et Jésus de Josedek, qui font figure de principales vedettes, mais aussi, parfois, quoique venus plus tard, Esdras et Néhémie. Il s'en faut de beaucoup, comme il est bien connu, que les chronologies soient nettes. Dans deux écrits qui continuent à attirer l'attention (Rev. Bibl. 1923 et 1924), Van HOONACKER en a montré toutes les faiblesses, et posé qu'il n'est nullement clair si Esdras est revenu en 458 ou en 398 (notons que ce serait deux ans après la mort de Socrate), c'est-à-dire si, en dépit d'apparences, il n'a pas été le successeur du gouverneur Néhémie. Observons que, dans les péricopes où Esdras et Néhémie apparaissent comme les coryphées, le caractère *sacerdotal* de la Restauration est plus accusé, bien que Jésus de Josedek ait été lui-même un grand prêtre. Car c'est Esdras qui lit la Loi présentée au peuple (Néhémie, 8), et on se rappellera que Spinoza estimait, non sans provoquer un certain scandale, qu'il en avait été le vrai rédacteur, pour ne pas dire l'auteur. Depuis longtemps, d'ailleurs, on avait dû avoir des pressentiments à ce sujet, puisque l'apocalypse dite „quatrième livre d'Esdras" imagine que, avec l'aide de collaborateurs, inspiré par le Saint-Esprit, il avait été à même de réécrire „quae erant in lege tua scripta" (xiv 22), et cela en l'espace de quarante jours (xiv 45).

Quelque importance qu'ait donné la tradition stabilisée à Esdras, nous noterons cependant que, aux yeux de certains, le rôle joué par Jésus de Josedek dut paraître grand, puisqu'on alla jusqu'à caractériser par son nom la période du Retour:

„Tels étaient les chefs des prêtres et de leurs frères, *aux jours de Yoshua-Jésus*." (hébreu de Néhémie xii 7: בימי ישוע; et grec de 2 Esdr. xxii 7: ἐν ἡμέραις 'Ιησοῦ).

Et il faut noter que c'est le livre de Néhémie qui emploie cette expression, alors qu'il est très visible que, à la différence du livre d'Esdras qui le précède, il a voulu minimiser le rôle de Jésus de Josedek, n'écrivant même *au complet* qu'une seule fois son nom, et encore, en ne caracterisant pas, *là*, son époque par son nom, mais bien par celui de son fils, et non sans la précaution d'ajouter que ces *jours* étaient aussi ceux de Néhémie. Telle est la formulation: „aux jours de Joakim, fils de Jésus, fils de Josedek, et aux jours de Néhémie." (2 Esdr. grec. xxii 6 ou Néhémie xii 6).

Si les partisans de Néhémie [1]) diminuaient ainsi volontiers le rôle de Jésus de Josedek, Zacharie, par contre, prophète de cette époque, (dans un texte où il est néanmoins impliqué que quelque chose pouvait et devait être amélioré dans sa conduite première) a mis en scène ce grand personnage dans une circonstance exceptionnelle, le montrant, dans le Saint des Saints, favorisé d'une confrontation des Génies du Bien et du Mal, où l'on voit l'Ange de Yahweh, et Yahweh lui-même (dans l'hébreu) affirmant leur résistance à Satan, dont la présence en un tel lieu n'a jamais été ailleurs imaginée. Nous estimons que la haute signification de cet épisode insolite n'a jamais été bien mise en lumière. Comprenons qu'il n'est pas étonnant que des gens revenus de la Babylonie envahie et administrée par les Perses libérateurs des Juifs avaient dû forcément entrer en contact avec la religion dualiste de l'Iran, et c'est ce que nous croyons utile de développer en note [1]).

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[1]) De telles variations dans les présentations ont toujours été inévitables. Rappelons, par exemple, que le rôle de Xénophon, présenté par lui-même comme capital dans la retraite des mercenaires de Cyrus le jeune, apparaît très effacé chez d'autres historiens.

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[1]) Traduisons littéralement de l'hébreu (avec des comparaisons avec le grec), en observant que ,,Satan", terme qui est primitivement un verbe, veut dire ,,se dresser comme adversaire", comme il résulte de l'examen de 'épisode de Balaam (Nb xxii 32) où un ange ,,fait Satan", c'est-à-dire, vient faire obstruction au devin frappant son ânesse:

,,Et il me montra **יהושע** (forme longue *noble* du nom du conquérant Josué, en grec 'Iησοῦς), le prêtre, le grand, debout devant la face de l'Ange de Yahweh, et le Satan (**השטן**, en grec ὁ διάβολος) debout à sa droite pour le ,,sataner" (**לשטנו**). Et Yahweh dit au Satan: Yahweh t'invective, le Satan! Et Yahweh porte invective sur toi, (moi) qui ai fait élection dans Jérusalem. Que ce soit comme un tison (**אוד**, sens fixé par le grec δαλός, quoique une confusion très fréquente du d et du r n'exclut pas comme lecture primitive **אור**, lumière) arraché (?) du feu. Et Josué-Jésus était vêtu d'habits (notons l'ambiguité du mot **בגדם**, dont un autre sens est celui de fraude ou de perfidie) sordides (**צנים**, un hapax). Et il se tenait en face de l'Ange. Et il répondit et dit à ceux qui se tenaient devant sa face: ,,Otez les vêtements sordides (on traduit souvent: sales) de sa fraude, et, voyez, j'ai fait passer ta perfidie de tes yeux. Et je t'ai revêtu aux reins (les traducteurs parlent souvent d'habits de fête, pour harmoniser). Et il dit: Placez-lui une tiare (**צניף**, en grec κίδαριν,, rendu par *cidarim* par Jérôme, terme dont on sait, par Philon, qu'il désignait particulièrement le diadème des rois de Perse) pure. Et ils lui mirent une tiare pure sur la tête, et ils le revêtirent d'habits. Et l'Ange de Yahweh se tenait tout près. Et l'ange porta témoignage à Josué-Jésus en disant: Ainsi parle Yahweh Sébaoth. Si dans les voies droites tu marches et si tu gardes mes consignes, et bien, toi, tu jugeras ma Maison. Et si tu gardes mes parvis, je te livrerai à toi les meneurs de ceux qui se tiennent ici, ceux-ci. Ecoute, Josué-Jésus, le prêtre grand! Toi et ceux qui te sont proches, et tes familiers devant ta face, pour que les hommes aux prodiges frémissent, voici vraiment que j'amène mon serviteur Germe (**צמח**, jeune pousse, transposé en grec en ἀνατολήν, lever d'astres ou Orient, et par Jérôme, qui disposait de la facilité du double sens du mot latin, en *servum meum orientem*)." (Zach. iii).

On connaît la solution apportée au problème du Mal par la religion mazdéenne. Le Dieu Bon est exclusivement créateur de Bien, mais il n'est pas tout-puissant, sans quoi il ne permettrait que l'existence du Bien. Un Adversaire mauvais lui oppose des oeuvres du Mal. Il lutte sans cesse contre lui, et le devoir de chacun est de l'aider *volontairement* dans cette lutte qui finira bien, avec le temps et la patience. On sait que cette solution déplaît profondément aux tempéraments épris d'Unité, qui ne peuvent nier sa logique, mais la déclarent volontiers simpliste. Il fallait réagir contre cette tentation d'adopter la solution mazdéenne. C'est ainsi que le grec, au lieu de Yahweh Sebaoth, parle du κυριος πανταυτοκρατωρ, affirmant ainsi qu'un *seul des Deux est tout-puissant*. Un cri d'alarme fut de même poussé ailleurs, qui est très significatif, et qui, pour ne pas détruire l'Unité, n'hésite pas à réclamer au *seul* Dieu la production à la fois du Bien et du Mal (Is. xlv 7).

Origène, usant d'un mot qui se trouve déjà prononcé par Luc dans le grec dans les Actes, ce que l'on méconnaît souvent (Act. iii 21) inclinera vers une solution mazdéenne en proclamant l'apocatastase finale (ἀποκαταστάσις

Jésus de Nazareth, homonyme de Jésus de Josedek, verra aussi les Deux Puissances aux prises, lorsqu'il ira écouter les directives de sa conscience dans le jeûne du désert. Les Anges le servaient, mais le Diable vint le tenter trois fois. Les découvertes de Qumran ont montré qu'on avait tort de sous-estimer l'influence du dualisme mazdéen dans les croyances des sectes juives. Satan devait rester pour les futurs chrétiens l'obstructeur permanent aux réalisations des plans du Dieu bon et de son Fils. Et comme Ormuzd ne devait terrasser complètement Arhiman qu'à la fin des temps, Dieu et son Fils ne rendront Satan définitivement inopérant qu'à la Parousie. Voilà une théologie qui, quoi qu'on en pense, puisait sa source naturelle dans le mazdéisme.

On peut reconstituer comme suit la famille de l'illustre Jésus qui vit Satan dans le Temple et qui avait été le collègue de Zorobabe dans la direction du Retour: son père était évidemment Josedek Son grand père était Saraïas (I Esdr. grec v 5). Il avait des fils dont une mention générale semble indiquer qu'ils devaient être nombreux (2 Esdr. grec x 18), et quatre frères nommément désignés Il était incorporé à une sorte de *gens* ou de confraternité comprenan à la fois des prêtres et des lévites (2 Esdr. grec iii 8). Vu la proximit de la mention en Néhémie xii 1, il est plausible de considérer qu c'est Jésus de Josedek qui est le Jésus mentionné comme le pèr de Joakim et le grand père d'Eliasib en Néhémie xii 10. Et Josèph a connaissance que le fils (Ant. xi 121) et le petit-fils (Ant. xi 158 furent tous les deux eux-mêmes des grands prêtres. Cette ligné directe montre la haute importance de cette famille dans la communauté juive du temps. Pareille notoriété ne peut échapper à quelqu jalousie et à des critiques. La malignité put trouver le point faibl dans certaines alliances constatées dans la famille de Jésus. S zélé et si efficace qu'il avait été dans son activité restauratrice,

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πάντων), c'est-à-dire, le triomphe final total du Bien, ralliant même Satan Mais il fut condamné, et, en Occident, particulièrement, la limitation d Bien aux Elus *prédestinés*, selon la théologie de l'Epitre aux Romains, qu prévoyait des ,,vases de colères" préfaçonnés à la perdition (Rom. ix 22), lourdement prévalu en raison du prestige d'Augustin. Il est bien connu qu l'église grecque, pour qui Augustin ne put jamais être une référence, a beau coup mitigé le caractère inexorable du préjugé divin, en minimisant la tar fatale de la faute originelle.

En Occident, la tendance pélagienne, en dépit de l'effort des Jésuite n'a pu abolir ce dogme de la fatale prédestination de chacun, et les Domin cains le soutiennent encore à la suite de Thomas d'Aquin, ne se différencian par en fait sur ce point des Réformés de nuances diverses et des Janséniste n'avait pas pu empêcher les siens de se souiller quelque peu lors des inévitables brassages dans la promiscuité de l'Exil. Le livre d'Esdras, favorable dans l'ensemble à Jésus de Josedek, lui réserve cependant ainsi une petite flétrissure dans le récit de la drastique épuration racique opérée par Esdras, lorsqu'il obligea les Juifs, convoqués en plein air et tremblant sous la pluie, à renvoyer en Babylonie les étrangères ramenées. Le rédacteur constate que même „parmi les prêtres, il y en avait qui avaient établi des étrangères". Et il nomme en tout premier lieu parmi ces relâchés des „gens parmi les fils de Jésus, fils de Josedek, et de ses frères: Maasias, Eliezer, Carib et Godolias." (x 18 ou 2 Esdr. grec x 18). Il enregistre néanmoins qu'ils obéirent aux injonctions: „Ils donnèrent parole de renvoyer leurs femmes, et *coupables*, d'offrir un bélier pour leurs fautes."

On trouve là l'écho d'une rivalité dans les préséances entre le groupe se réclamant d'Esdras et de Néhémie et le groupe se réclamant de Zorobabel et de Jésus. Le lecteur apprenait incidemment par ce détail que des proches de ce dernier avaient dû se soumettre, *et en public*, à la censure d'Esdras, armé d'une telle autorité qu'ils ne pouvaient que lui obéir en brisant leurs foyers. Et Esdras faisait ainsi figure d'un défenseur plus intransigeant de la pureté racique, privilège de ceux-là seuls qui n'avaient en leurs veines que du sang d'Abraham. Esdras avait sauvé de cette contamination qu'on reprochera sans cesse aux Samaritains, en établissant définitivement la consigne de la race élue fermée qui prévalut [1]).

On ne pourrait sous-estimer l'importance de l'épuration racique opérée par Esdras dans la stabilisation de la race juive. Josèphe s'en rendait parfaitement compte:

„S'étant posé cette règle, à la néoménie du dizième mois, ils commencèrent leurs investigations. Parachevant l'inventaire à la néoménie du mois suivant, ils découvrirent ceux qui cohabitaient avec les gens d'autres races: de nombreux descendants de Jésus le grand prêtre, d'autres des prêtres, des lévites et des Israélites qui, faisant plus de cas de l'observance de la Loi que de leurs séductions pour ces choses, congédièrent aussitôt les femmes et les enfants nés d'elles. Ils apportèrent des sacrifices, apaisant Dieu, lui immolant des béliers. Il ne nous a pas paru indispensable de mentionner leurs noms. Ayant ainsi redressé les péchés par mariages de ceux dont on vient de parler, Esdras assainit le règlement coutumier en ces matières, au point qu'il en est demeuré fixe pour le reste des temps." (Ant. xi 151-153).

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[1]) Le préjugé était si fort que l'apôtre infiniment hérétique des Gentils, qui ne craignait point d'appeler des Grecs, dut imaginer que ces nouveaux venus devaient passer pour des fils spirituels d'Abraham dans la théologie de l'Epître aux Romains. Mais l'orthodoxie juive ne voulut rien admettre.

Chose curieuse, il y eut cependant une dérogation massive à la consigne lors de la conversion des Khazars, pères d'innombrables „Juifs" de Russie. Mais, le fait étant accompli, ces nouveaux venus adoptèrent aussi fermement la consigne de la race fermée, et il leur était réservé de jouer un rôle de premier plan dans l'action juive internationale. Leur statut dépassa rapidement celui des anciens prosélytes, celui des „craignant Dieu" et des „gens de la Porte".

Josèphe précise encore que les réinstallés croyaient:

,,qu'en effet la cause de leur ancienne captivité et de leurs maux était que, par des mariages", certains avaient erré et avaient amené des femmes qui n'étaient pas de leurs pays. (Ibid. 308).

Le régime théocratique s'installe et triomphe, et Josèphe notera:

,,En effet, les grands prêtres furent à la tête des affaires jusqu'au moment où les descendants des Asmonéens régnèrent en rois" (Ant. xi 111).

C'est aussi la période, où, définitivement, le nom de ,,Juifs" va servir pour désigner ce peuple: ,,Et les Juifs se préparèrent à l'oeuvre. Ils furent appelés de ce nom depuis le jour où ils firent leur montée de Babylone, gens de la tribu de Juda. Et comme c'est elle qui arriva la première en ces lieux, eux-mêmes et le pays prirent cette dénomination." (Ant. xi 173).

Si l'on se livre à un parallèle entre Jésus de Josedek et Jésus de Nazareth, au point de vue racique, on peut constater que le grand prêtre, au début, avait une tendance à ne pas être trop pointilleux sur la question des mélanges et de la pureté du sang, mais qu'il se soumit aux nouvelles exigences. Pour ce qui concerne Jésus de Nazareth, une tradition archaïque rappelle qu'il dut commencer par envisager un message limité aux Juifs (prescription de ne pas aller vers les Nations ni vers les Samaritains en Mt x 5 et xv 24), alors que, finalement, et principalement par le développement que sa doctrine prit dans Paul, il devait devenir le protagoniste de l'appel universel, aux Hellènes, puis à l'humanité entière.

Si le souvenir de l'importance du rôle joué par Jésus de Josedek est aujourd'hui pas mal oblitéré, il ne l'était nullement encore pour le rédacteur de l'Ecclésiastique écrivant l'éloge des ancêtres, comme nous l'avons signalé, et Josèphe était pleinement conscient de son importance, car il mentionne (Ant. xi 75 et 79) que l'équipe menée par lui avait été capable de relever le Temple avec une rapidité qu'on n'avait pas osé espérer (Son homonyme dira, lui, qu'il pourra, après avoir détruit le Temple, le rebâtir en trois jours). Telle était donc encore l'opinion d'un grand connaisseur des choses juives. Et cet illustre grand prêtre fut favorisé d'un privilège unique, celui de voir, dans le sanctuaire même, un déploiement de rivalité entre le Génie du Mal et le Génie du Bien, Satan et Yahweh.

Il n'y a pas de doute que des Jésus furent nombreux au temps de l'Exil et du Retour. En voici d'autres, de conditions sociales plus modestes:

15. *Jésus, fils d'Azaria,* un lévite (2 Esdr. grec. xx 9 correspondant à Néhémie x 10). Son nom hébreu est ישוע.

16. *Jésus, père d'un Azour* qui répara les murs de Jérusalem dans le secteur qu'on lui avait assigné, et qui était commandant de Masphé (2 Esdr. grec, xiii 19): Αζουρ υἱὸς ’Ιησοῦ ἄρχων τοῦ Μασφε. Son nom hébreu est le même que celui du Jésus précédent.

17. *Jésus, un lévite,* le premier de ceux qui se prosternent quand Esdras lit la Loi au peuple (2 Esdr. grec xviii 7), et dont le nom hébreu présente encore la même forme, celle du nom court de Josué le conquérant.

Constatons que, si Esdras a dû censurer des membres de la famille du grand Jésus de Josedek et les contraindre à renvoyer leurs étrangères, Néhémie, intime associé d'Esdras, mentionne d'autre part l'attitude (infiniment louable pour un tenant d'Esdras) de ce Jésus, qui n'est qu'un simple lévite, mais dont la docilité empressée est exemplaire.

18. *Jésus, le père d'un Iôzabad* (2 Esdr. grec viii 33). Ce dernier, mentionné sur une liste de gens du Retour, doit être le même que le Iôzabdos du I Esdr. grec (viii 62 de l'édition Rahlfs, verset 64 dans les éditions anciennes) où il est qualifié de lévite. Et une variante du *Vaticanus* en cet endroit ferait comprendre que Jésus, son père, était aussi un lévite.

(Aucun indice certain ne permettrait de confondre *a priori* les Jésus des numérons 17 et 18 avec un autre Jésus).

Et nous voici arrivés au dernier ’Ιησοῦς de la LXX, qui est d'importance, car il n'est autre que:

19. *Jésus, l'auteur de l'Ecclésiastique* (en grec Σοφία Σ(ε)ιραχ ou Σοφία ’Ιησοῦ υἱου Σ(ε)ιραχ) dit le *Siracide*, dont il est connu que

des fragments hébreux ont été retrouvés. Son petit-fils, qui l'a traduit, l'appelle ainsi: ὁ πάππος μου 'Ιησοῦς (Prologue, v).

Les deux titres grecs connus sont ambigus: l'un désigne Sirach comme l'auteur, l'autre parle d'une Sagesse de Jésus, fils de Sirach, qui se retrouve dans le titre latin de la Vulgate: In Ecclesiasticum Iesu Filii Sirach Prologus.

Mentionnons qu'une version arménienne, mais de valeur médiocre, donne aussi le nom de Jésus au jeune traducteur (P.G. t. 28, col. 376). Nous n'inscrirons pas ce Jésus dans notre liste.

On prête aux riches. Isidore de Séville (Offic. i 12. P.L. t. 83, col. 749) a vu dans le grand père du Siracide Jésus de Josedek, tout simplement. Mais le Siracide, qui, comme nous l'avons vu, a fait l'éloge de Jésus de Josedek (Ecclesiasticus, xlix 11-12), n'aurait pas manqué de spécifier ce titre de gloire auquel il ne pouvait évidemment pas penser.

Ici s'arrête l'inventaire des 'Ιησοῦς nommés par la LXX. Avant d'aborder l'étude des Jésus connus de Josèphe, faisons une pause pour réfléchir aux données que nous avons déjà pu recueillir. Nous avons été frappés par le fait que des noms hébreux très dissemblables ont été transposés par 'Ιησοῦς en grec. Cela ne s'expliquerait guère si 'Ιησοῦς n'avait pas été un nom bien popularisé parmi les juifs hellénistes, à qui il offrait tout naturellement une commodité dans les transpositions dont le besoin se faisait sentir. Il fut considéré comme l'équivalent valable des noms d'Osée et de Josué et de bien d'autres encore [1]). A vrai dire, les Juifs alexandrins durent connaître une période où ils ne reculaient pas à déformer sensiblement les noms hébreux les plus illustres, en adoptant souvent des formes déclinables en grec (Nous avons transcrit, dans la note 2, la déclinaison de 'Ιησοῦς). משה fut mué en Μωϋσης, et Nun, le père de Josué-Jésus le conquérant devint Ναϋε. Notre Salomon, qui dérive du grec Σαλομων, est une déformation assez notable de l'hébreu prononcé Shelomoh.

On arguera que la forme courte du nom de Josué le conquérant (Yoshoua) explique assez bien 'Ιησοῦς. Mais comment expliquer que le son o du nom divin initial ait pu se muer en un i dans la prononciation itacisante de *Yisous* ? La Massore n'a-t-elle pas réimposé le son o à la prononciation de Yoshoua ? Il nous semble qu'on peut envisager l'hypothèse que dans les lettres ישוע, on avait dû prendre l'habitude (partout, on le sait encouragée), de ne plus reconnaître les sonorités du nom divin Yo devenu imprononçable comme toutes ses autres variantes. On pouvait avoir pris l'habitude d'y voir tout simplement le présent du verbe ישע (il sauve), lequel, tout naturellement, entraînait une prononciation en *Ye* ou en *Yi*. Cette dernière est postulée par *Yisous*, qui est restée celle de l'Eglise grecque. Que ce verbe ait été considéré d'ailleurs jadis à ce temps présent dans des noms théophores, c'est ce qui résulte de l'examen de ces cas où le nom divin, parfaitement désigné, lui était appliqué en suffixes, comme, par exemple, dans:

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[1]) Pensons aux formes שיא et שוא (si différentes du fréquent ישוע) qui sont les noms du 'Ιησοῦς, le notaire de David figurant au no 5 de notre répertoire.

1. ישעיה, que la LXX nomme Ιεσσουει et Lucien Ιεσει (I Paral. ii 31)
2. ישעיהו, que la LXX nomme Ιεσσιος, avec les variantes Ιεσσιας et Ησαιας chez Lucien, et, ailleurs encore Ιεσια (2 Esdr. xxi 7).

Observons que le nom du prophète Isaïe était ainsi formé: Yeshah-Yahu. Il se déforma en Ησαιας, dont la prononciation itacisante fit naturellement un Isaïe, beaucoup moins artificiel que la forme Esaïe, à tort préférée par toute une école de traducteurs, et que seule la prononciation conventionnelle érasmienne pourrait appuyer.

Nous croyons enfin que, parallèlement à la forme 'Ιησοῦς, il ne serait pas superflu de considérer en complément certains noms commençant en Ysh, principalement quand ils sont susceptibles d'avoir inclus l'idée fondamentale de „salut" qui est admise comme caractérisant le sens premier du nom de Josué-Jésus [1]). Il est vrai que la grande variété de ces formes qu'on peut relever dans Hatch et Redpath (et que nous négligeons dans cette étude) constitue un fatras, et que beaucoup d'entre elles ne sont probablement pas autre chose que des erreurs de copistes.

Après les Jésus de la LXX, examinons ceux qui figurent dans les oeuvres de Josèphe.

Il va sans dire que, par la force des choses, il a dû s'occuper des deux plus illustres dans les *Antiquités*: Jésus-Josué le conquérant et Jésus de Josedek le restaurateur. Nous ne dressons pas l'inventaire de ces mentions, mais nous rappellerons encore l'intérêt du jugement qu'il portait sur Jésus de Josedek. Il savait qu'il avait montré une capacité particulière à relever le Temple plus promptement qu'on aurait osé l'espérer (Ant. xi 73 et 79). Mais Josèphe nous a fait connaître bien d'autres Jésus, non mentionnés dans la Bible, dont nous dresserons la liste en affectant le premier du no 20, pour continuer la série des Jésus.

Entre les deux illustres Jésus, on découvre dans les Antiquités les deux personnages suivants:

20. *Jésus, fils de Saül*, dont le nom est orthographié de deux façons 'Ιησοῦς: (adopté par l'édition Niese, t. 2, p. 33) et 'Ιεσους (adopté par l'édition Naber). Il correspond à un hébreu ישוי.

La LXX l'a rendu par 'Ιεσσου et Origène par Ισουει..

21. *Jésus, grand prêtre, fils de Borkias*, de la branche de la famille de Phinées écartée du sacerdoce par Salomon (Ant. viii 12, édit. Niese, t. 2, p. 179): ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως 'Ιησοῦ υἱός Βορκιας (variante: 'Ιωσήπου).

On relève ensuite, durant la période du second Temple, dont Josèphe reste souvent la source unique d'information:

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[1]) Ainsi, par exemple 'Ιεσου (Nb xxvi 28, hébreu xxvi 44) rend un ישוה lequel a donné aussi Ιεσουα (Gen. xlvi 17, variante Ιεσσαι et Ιεσουρ chez Lucien, et, ailleurs encore (I Paral. vii 30) Ισουα et Ιασουα, mais 'Ισουσιος chez Lucien et 'Ισους dans Josèphe.

22. *Jésus, candidat grand-prêtre, fils du grand-prêtre Jôdas, petit-fils du grand-prêtre Eliasib. Ce Jésus fut tué dans le temple par son propre frère, lui aussi un grand-prêtre* (Ant. xi 300).

Le grand prêtre Jean, qui avait hérité de la fonction familiale, fut pris à partie par son frère Jésus, à qui le gouverneur perse Bagosès promettait appui pour usurper sa place. Mais il arriva quelque chose de terrible, un mémorable scandale: Jean tua son frère Jésus dans le temple même. Avec l'agrément du roi Artaxerxès, Bagosès intervint et prit de terribles sanctions, qui furent en application durant sept ans. Et ce qui fut pire, d'après Josèphe, c'est que, pour régler cette affaire, le gouverneur pénétra en personne dans le Temple, qui fut ainsi souillé de la présence d'un étranger.

(Observons, en passant, que ce prêtre Jean, qui tua un Jésus dans le temple, pourrait figurer sur la liste des mauvais prêtres pour tenter d'identifier le fameux ,,prêtre impie'' tant recherché depuis les découvertes de Qumran, au cas, toutefois, où il serait possible d'admettre une allusion aussi ancienne dans ces textes, qui n'est guère probable, surtout si l'on doit situer ce Jean et ce Jésus plus haut que ne le fait Josèphe).

Le scandale du meurtre du grand prêtre dans le Temple et de l'intervention de l'autorité perse est un de ces évènements de l'histoire juive qu'on ne connaît que grâce à Josèphe. Mais la chronologie de cette période, comme il est bien connu, laisse beaucoup à désirer. Josèphe (si l'on ne tient pas compte d'une correction reconnue par Niese comme une interpolation) a omis de considérer séparément les trois rois du nom d'Artaxerxès. R. Marcus, l'éditeur du XIe livre des Antiquités dans la collection Loeb, observe judicieusement (p. 500) que, à s'en tenir à l'ordre des insertions, on devrait situer Bagoès sous le règne d'Artaxerxès III Ochus (359-338). Mais il est plausible de corriger la donnée et de le faire vivre sous Artaxerxes II Mnemon (404-359), celui qui vainquit son frère Cyrus aidé par les Grecs ramenés par Xénophon.

On n'a pas manqué de comparer Bagosès au Bagoas, ou mieux au Bigwai des papyrus d'Eléphantine, et même de proposer de voir en eux un seul et unique personnage. A ce propos R. Marcus cite Morgenstern (Hebrew Union College Annual, X, 1935, pp. 1-148):

,,The murder of Jesus of Johannan (il faudrait dire de Iôdas, si l'on se réfère à son père et non à son frère) must have been far more than a mere personal incident. Josephus states plainly that Jesus was an aspirant for the high-priesthood, and that in this ambition he enjoyed the support of Bagoas, the then Persian governor of Palestine. This Bagoas must have been the successor of Nehemiah in this high office, though whether the immediate successor, lack of evidence forbids us to determine. Josephus represents him as pursuing a policy of oppression of the Jews of Palestina, but this probably overstates the case. Josephus wrote, of course, from the standpoint of the extreme particularism of Ezra and Nehemiah which came in time, and with only comparatively slight amelioration, to dominate the spirit of Judaism for centuries. But Josephus does record that this Bagoas supported Jesus in his candidacy for the high-priesthood; and this was certainly the same Bagoas to whom in 408 B.C. the Jews of Elephantine addressed their petition for permission to rebuild their temple of Yahweh."

Observons que la réaction de Bagosès a été interprétée comme une attitude de mazdéen, la religion de Zoroastre voyant d'un mauvais oeil une souillure du Feu par des animaux sacrifiés. R. MARCUS rappelle que l'on doit cette hypothèse à Ed. Meyer, et qu'elle a été reprise par Cowley, l'éditeur des textes d'Eléphantine. Si Bagosès n'est autre que le Bagoas ou le Bigwai de ces documents, et que l'on juge par eux de sa mentalité, on note que, en permettant aux Juifs d'Egypte la continuation de leur culte, il omet de mentionner l'autorisation du sacrifice d'animaux, qui était pourant réclamée avec le reste. R. MARCUS écrit à ce propos (p. 504):

,,A tax so extreme must have been almost prohibitive. This may, therefore, well have been a superficially diplomatic means by which Bagoas sought to abrogate the offerings of animal sacrifices also in the Temple of Jerusalem."

Dans les homonymes de Jésus, il se trouvait donc aussi une célèbre victime, immolée dans Jérusalem et dans le Temple même par un prêtre, un frère mauvais, un Caïn. Mais on comprend que la littérature d'édification n'ait jamais eu recours à ce parallèle.

23. *Jésus, qui prit le nom de Jason, un grand prêtre,* fils de Simon et frère d'un Onias-Ménélas mort à Sparte (Ant. xii 237 et sq).

Quelque chose n'est pas clair dans la tradition de famille. Avoir deux frères du même nom est rare. Or d'après Josèphe, Jésus aurait eu deux frères du nom d'Onias, le dépossédé par lui (Onias III) et Onias-Ménélas (qui, d'après le second livre des Maccabées, n'est pas son frère).

Un Antiochus (on doit admettre par comparaison avec les livres des Maccabées qu'il s'agit d'Antiochus IV Epiphane) domine la

Judée. Et il dépouille Jésus de la grande prêtrise pour la conférer à son cadet.

Il semble qu'à aucune période, le danger de l'assimilation à l'hellénisme ne fut plus grand pour les Juifs. Jésus décida de s'appeler Jason, et Onias adopta le nom de Ménélas. Et chacun recruta ses partisans dans la populace, Jésus-Jason s'assurant le plus grand nombre. Alors apparaissent les fameux Tobiades, qui se joignent à Ménélas. Les gens de Jésus, pour réussir, prennent le parti d'accentuer leur zèle de collaborateurs, et vont se présenter chez Antiochus comme des renégats du judaïsme. Ils en obtiennent la permission de bâtir un gymnase dans Jérusalem, et, pour affirmer leur transformation en hellènes alors même qu'ils étaient vus nus, ils ,,revêtirent'' leurs circoncisions.

(Ces deux frères ennemis, tous deux hellénisants, attirent évidemment l'attention de ceux qui recherchent le ,,prêtre impie'' des documents de Qumran).

Il est piquant que le Syncelle (Bonn, t. I, p. 525) ait pu prendre Jéus-Jason l'hellénisant pour Jésus de Sirach, le pieux auteur de l'Ecclésiastique, si ardent à louer les ancêtres de l'orthodoxie la plus pure (chapitres 44-50).

Les livres des Maccabées, qui connaissent uniquement les deux rivaux sous leurs noms grecs, fournissent sur eux une ample information, avec des divergences de détail par rapport à Josèphe. Jason et Ménélas ne sont plus des frères, mais Jason a bien dépouillé son frère Onias (III). Et Ménélas est frère d'un Simon (2 Mac. iv 23-26). Jason et Ménélas ont tous deux acheté le pontificat à Antiochus Epiphane: Jason tout d'abord (ibid. iv 8), puis Ménélas, qui le supplante par une surenchère (iv 24). Jason fonde un gymnase près de la citadelle, et c'est l'imitation des moeurs grecques:

,,Avec joie il érigea au pied de la citadelle même un gymnase et mit sous le pétase les jeunes gens les plus distingués. Il y eut un tel degré d'hellénisation et un tel engouement pour les moeurs étrangères, par suite de l'extrême impiété de Jason, scélérat et non pas grand prêtre, que les prêtres n'avaient plus aucune ferveur pour les cérémonies de l'autel, mais méprisant le Temple et négligeant les sacrifices, ils se dépêchaient ponr assister aux exhibitions honteuses de la palestre, dès l'annonce du lancement du disque, comptant pour rien les honneurs ancestraux et jugeant excellentes les gloires grecques.'' (iv 12-15).

Jason eut l'audace d'envoyer 300 drachmes comme offrande à l'Héraclès-Melqart de Tyr à l'occasion de jeux quinquennaux, mais ses légats furent pris de scrupules et obtinrent l'affectation de la somme à l'équipement de trirèmes (iv 18-20). Quand Ménélas l'emporta, Jason dut fuir chez les Ammonites (iv 26). Mais Ménélas, qui tardait à solder sa prime, fut convoqué à Antioche où il eut à faire à Andronique, légat du roi absent. Il s'arrangea et obtint de lui la mise à mort d'Onias III, dépossédé par Jason, et qui vivait à Daphné, lieu d'asile (iv 33). Les Juifs obtinrent d'Antiochus une mise à mort ignominieuse d'Andronique, mais Ménélas fit son rétablissement. Le bruit de la mort du roi ayant couru, Jason sortit de sa retraite, et envahit la ville qu'il mit sous la terreur, Ménélas étant terré dans la citadelle (v 5). Jason dut néanmoins abandonner les lieux, regagner sa retraite, souffrir des Arabes du roi Arétas, fuir en Egypte, et sa fin est inattendue:

,,Celui qui avait exilé de la patrie des congénères mourut en terre étrangère, arrivé chez les *Lacédémoniens* pour y trouver refuge, en raison de la communauté de race." (iv 9).

On trouve là un écho de la curieuse tradition affirmée par les livres des Maccabées, présentant les Juifs et les Spartiates comme des parents descendant d'Abraham (Lettre d'Aréios de Sparte à Onias, I Mac. xii 20-23). Le choix du nom de Ménélas se comprend mieux ainsi.

L'orthodoxie ne fut jamais en plus grand danger de compromission avec l'hellénisme qu'à cette période. Et un réflexe de défense provoqua une démarche que l'on est parfois un peu trop tenté d'oublier. Onias IV, le fils de l'Onias assasiné à Daphné, s'en alla fonder en Egypte le temple de Léontopolis, dont Josèphe nous dit qu'il fonctionna durant 343 ans. Josèphe (B. vii 427), probablement mieux informé sur le tard, n'en fit plus une copie du temple de Jérusalem, mais bien une tour de soixante coudées (L'Egypte avait eu jadis, sous Cambyse, à Jeb, dans l'île d'Eléphantine, un temple de Yahweh). Quand la situation se normalisa à Jérusalem, après les Maccabées, sous les Asmonéens et plus tard, ce temple égyptien d'Onias ne fut pas très plaisant, et les intentions du fondateur parurent même suspectes (B. vii 431). Après la victoire de Titus, ce sanctuaire qui, paradoxalement, restait le seul, périclita à la suite d'interventions des gouverneurs romains d'Alexandrie. Le Talmud (Bab. Menahot 109a), dit que les prêtres du temple ,,d'Honjo" ne pouvaient officier dans celui de Jérusalem, et qu'ils y étaient comme des délinquants, pouvant participer aux repas, mais ne pouvant rien apporter.

24. *Jésus, grand prêtre, fils de Phoabès* (Phabet dans beaucoup de traductions. Ant. xv 322), Ἰησοῦν μὲν τὸν τοῦ Φάβητος.

Il fut dépouillé de sa dignité par Hérode le Grand, qui la transféra à un Simon, dans le but de conférer plus de prestige à ce personnage dont il voulait épouser une fille d'une grande beauté.

25. *Jésus, fils de Sié, grand prêtre* (Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Σιὲ παιδὸς, Ant. xvii 341).

C'est une créature d'Archélaüs, qui détrona Eléazar pour lui donner la prêtrise.

Chronologiquement, après ce personnage, se situe dans Josèphe Jésus de Nazareth, le fondateur du christianisme. Nous n'avons pas à revoir ici le fameux problème suscité par les deux textes, généralement considérés comme apocryphes (Ant. xviii 63 et xx 200).

Il convient de considérer ensuite ensemble ces deux Jésus:

26. *Jésus de Damnaeus* (τοῦ Δαμναίου) *grand prêtre* (Ant. xx 213).

27. *Jésus, fils de Gamaliel, grand prêtre* (Ant. xx 213 et 223).

Ces Jésus vivent sous le règne d'Agrippa le jeune, au moment où ce roi agrandit Césarée de Philippe et décide de l'appeler Néroniade pour flatter l'empereur, sans craindre d'orner les édifices de représentations figurées formellement interdites par la consigne deutéronomique.

Jésus, fils de Damnaeus, fut destitué par Agrippa qui donna la prêtrise à Jésus, fils de Gamaliel. Mais les deux rivaux luttèrent en recrutant de la canaille, et on leur reprocha de s'être maintes fois attaqués à coups de pierres. Jésus de Gamaliel fut finalement destitué lui-même, et sa dignité fut transférée à un Matthias, fils de Théophile. Ces incidents se situent à un moment très critique de l'histoire juive, immédiatement avant le déchaînement de la grande Révolte contre Rome.

Nous allons voir maintenant Josèphe lui-même aux prises avec un bon nombre de Jésus, et comprendre combien le nom était répandu à son époque.

28. *Jésus, fils de Sapphas, grand prêtre* (τὸν υἱὸν Σαπφία, Bellum, ii 566).

Au début de la Révolte, le Sanhédrin décida de subordonner Niger, préfet de l'Idumée, zône d'administration difficile, à deux superviseurs ayant rang de grands prêtres, Eléazar et ce Jésus.

29. *Jésus, fils de Sapphias* (Vita, lxvi), complètement différent du précédent, *un aventurier, à la tête du parti des mariniers du lac et des sans ressources*, un grand ennemi de Josèphe: Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Σαπφία παῖς, ὅν τῆς τῶν ναυτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων στάσεως πρῶτον ἔφαμεν ἄρξαι

On pense, à propos de ce meneur de gens du lac et des humbles à un parallèle qui s'imposerait depuis toujours, si l'on n'avait pas tellement négligé l'étude de tous ces Jésus. On pense à l'appel des disciples au bord de la mer de Galilée, et à l'antipathie pour les riches: Malheur à vous, riches! . . . le trou de l'aiguille . . . le mauvais riche de Lazare . . .

Comment est-il si peu connu que ce chef des mariniers causa d'infinis soucis à Josèphe quand il était gouverneur de la Galilée révoltée? Il était pour lui l'objet de très amers souvenirs dont il parle longuement dans la *Vita*. Le personnage est introduit à propos d'un acte de vandalisme. Josèphe avait été chargé de détruire le palais d'Hérode à Tibériade, parce qu'il choquait l'iconoclasme deutéronomiste par des représentations d'animaux. Mais Jésus le marinier le prévint et incendia le palais, retirant du pillage un butin beaucoup plus ample qu'on l'aurait attendu, notamment dans l'or de la toiture. Les gens de ce Jésus étaient de fanatiques xénophobes: "Ceux qui entouraient Jésus firent périr tous les Hellènes établis là, tous ceux qui, avant la guerre, étaient devenus leurs ennemis." (Vita, lxvii). Josèphe s'indigna de cette usurpation des mesures punitives qui lui revenaient de droit comme gouverneur, et il s'en alla récupérer tout ce qu'il pouvait du butin" des candélabres de Corinthe, des tables royales, et une bonne quantité d'argent non monnayé", et il nous assure que son intention était de conserver cela pour le roi, ce qu'on ne comprend pas très bien puisque, en principe (Vita, lxv), il avait été officieusement chargé de la destruction. Dès ce moment, Jésus devint et resta son terrible ennemi.

Jésus attendit et trouva l'occasion de déployer une vengeance de grand style. Car, peu à peu, ce meneur avait pris une telle importance que, bien que, en principe, Josèphe en eût la juridiction, la ville de Tibériade lui obéissait en fait. Josèphe déclare cet homme mauvais, et le présente comme un incomparable fauteur de troubles, ingénieux comme pas un dans ces manoeuvres: μάλίστα δ'αύτοὺς ἐξέκαιεν ὁ τοῦ Σαπφία παῖς Ἰησοῦς ἄρχων τότε τῆς Τιβεριάδος, πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ ταράξαι μεγάλα πράγματα φύσιν ἔχων, στασεοποίος τε καὶ νεωτεριστῆς ὡς οὐχ ἕτερος (Vita, cxxxiv).

Comme des rumeurs soupçonnaient Josèphe de vouloir trahir, Jésus convoqua dans l'hippodrome de Tarichée une foule ameutée contre lui. Et il suggéra tout simplement qu'on aille l'assassiner durant sa sieste. Mais Josèphe, tiré à temps du sommeil, va affronter la foule qu'il séduit par des attitudes théâtrales, tombant sur le visage et inondant le sol de pleurs, se déclarant prêt à employer les trésors qu'il détient à fortifier Tarichée et d'autres villes. Rusé, il parvient à faire pénétrer chez lui une délégation d'émeutiers, mais, les portes fermées, il fait saisir le plus forcené, le fait fouetter et lui coupe une main, le renvoyant avec cette main pendue au cou. (Il est étrange qu'il soit généralement peu connu que Josèphe était un coupeur de mains. En une autre occasion encore (Vita, 170), il obligea quelqu'un à sa merci à se couper sa propre main, lui laissant le choix entre cette mutilation et la mort).

Les haines ne désarmèrent pas, et Jésus, que Josèphe appelle le maître de Tibériade (Vita, 271, 278) lui tendit de nouveaux pièges, le dépêchant dans des escarmouches dangereuses. Après quoi, dans une assemblée soi-disant sans armes, il le convoqua à comparaître. Le motif argué était si adroitement formulé que l'historien n'aurait pu s'abstenir sans susciter de graves critiques au point de vue religieux. Il obtempéra, dissimulant sous sa tunique une cotte de maille et un glaive (193). Bien vite mis en posture d'accusé, il fut sommé de restituer les lingots qu'il tenait du pillage du palais, et, des gens armés ayant fait irruption, il se trouva en grand danger. Il fut à la fois, comme si souvent, habile et alerte. Par un étroit passage, il s'esquiva, et gagnant le lac, il détacha une barque et s'enfuit (304).

Tels étaient, pour Josèphe, de déplaisants souvenirs sur lesquels il s'étendit dans son autobiographie. Il avait normalement dû être plus bref dans le récit officiel de sa Guerre (Bellum, ii 599), où il appelle Jésus de Sapphias le commandant de Tibériade, ce qui prouve bien que, dans la Galilée, cet ennemi, en fait, échappa à son autorité. On peut remarquer que le grief argué contre lui par Jésus (ii 583) dans la scène de l'hippodrome est légèrement différent: l'argent qu'on veut faire rendre à Josèphe provient du pillage des bagages d'un Ptolémée, administrateur d'Agrippa et de Bérénice. Il déclare que, dans l'hippodrome, on demanda ni plus ni moins qu'il fût brûlé vif! Il dit encore qu'il se présenta au public dans un aspect pitoyable, mais par pure habileté, en se confessant dans une auto-critique, ce qui veut dire, somme toute, qu'il se reconnut des torts et les diminua. Il mentionne aussi sa ruse du guet-apens: ayant fermé les portes en sa demeure sur des meneurs qu'il avait attirés, il les fit fouetter au point qu'on voyait leurs viscères (612), si bien que, lorsqu'il les fit sortir, le peuple fut épouvanté de sa résistance énergique et se calma.

Il s'agit là d'épisodes caractéristiques de l'affreuse anarchie par rivalités entre meneurs qui règne toujours dans des révoltes de ce genre, et qui les rendent si faibles devant des occupants organisés et disciplinés. Nous croyons que, si Josèphe en a tellement plus dit dans ses Mémoires à ce sujet que dans son histoire officielle, il a obéi aussi à d'autres mobiles. Car il mentionne qu'on n'ignore pas qu'un autre de ses ennemis irréductibles dont il exècre la mémoire, Juste de Tibériade, a raconté lui aussi ces incidents, et *un peu différemment.* Cette version de Juste, malheureusement, a péri, peut-être parce que, à la différence de l'histoire de Josèphe, elle ne reçut pas l'approbation officielle des Flaviens et de leurs successeurs. Josèphe, tout simplement, nous affirme que son récit à lui est plus véridique, et parce qu'il est approuvé officiellement par les empereurs, argument d'autorité de valeur douteuse, d'autant plus qu'il semble bien que son démenti est opposé à un homme déjà mort.

Ce qui demeure certain, c'est que Josèphe eut fort à faire avec ce chef des mariniers et des humbles, devenus le commandant effectif de la ville de Tibériade. Nous verrons qu'il eut à redouter d'autres Jésus chefs de bande, et qu'un seul, après avoir attenté contre lui, devint son allié contraint.

L'étude systématique de ces Jésus n'a pas été faite. Elle exige de nombreux contrôles, car les classements des simples noms ne concordent pas entièrement dans les *indices* des grandes éditions, l'édition Dindorf (Didot), la monumentale édition Niese, et l'édition Naber (Teubner). A travailler le problème, on ne s'étonne pas de ces divergences.

30. *Jésus, fils de Toupha* (*ou de Saphatos*), *très grand coryphée parmi la gent des brigands* Ἰησοῦς τις ὄνομα, παῖς Τούφα, τοῦ ληστρικου στίφους ὁ κορυφαίοτατος (Bellum iii 450).

C'est Naber, qui, dans son index, a jugé bon de séparer ce Jésus du précédent. Il semble en effet, que ce n'est que par un souci de simplification et d'harmonisation que quelques manuscrits seulement ont donné au père de ce Jésus le nom de Saphatos, ressemblant au Sapphia du numéro précédent, et la commode édition de H. St.

J. Thackeray (Heineman, 1956, War, t. 2, p. 702, note) a pris le parti de les confondre, tout en signalant l'anomalie. Ce Jésus de Toupha, d'ailleurs, fait son apparition sensiblement plus tard, à une époque où Josèphe était déjà prisonnier de Vespasien et rallié. Jésus de Toupha se distingua par un brillant mais court succès sur les Romains. Il surprit et débanda la troupe de Valerianus, lieutenant de Vespasien détaché du camp de Sabenus, réussissant à lui voler quatre chevaux triomphalement exhibés. Mais bientôt, pris de peur, il s'enfuit de Tibériade à Tarichée (B. iii 448-469) où il résista quelque temps sur le lac, dans un dispositif de barques accrochées les unes aux autres et hors de portée des traits. Titus et Trajan n'insistèrent pas tout d'abord, ayant décidé d'aller battre les Juifs en plaine, après quoi, lors de la prise de Tarichée, Jésus de Toupha et ses partisans réussirent à prendre la fuite dans les campagnes (iii 498).

31. *Jésus, chef d'une bande de* 800 *hommes dans la banlieue de Ptolémaïs, brigand* (Vita, 105, 108): Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀρχιλήστην εἰς τὴν Πτολεμαΐδος μεθορίαν.

Naber, à la différence de Niese, le confond avec le précédent. Ce qui nous décide à le considérer comme distinct, c'est que celui-ci, de tous les Jésus chefs de bandes dont parle Josèphe, est le seul dont il dit qu'il le contraignit à devenir son auxiliaire.

Ce Jésus avait été chargé par les gens de Sephoris, décidés à rester loyaux aux Romains, de faire une expédition pour régler le compte de Josèphe. Mais le condottiere préféra réussir par ruse et lui demanda audience dans l'intention de s'en emparer. Mis à temps au courant de ses intentions, Josèphe le reçut séparé de sa troupe, et le tenant à sa merci, ne le libéra qu'après la conclusion d'un accord. Josèphe lui permit de reprendre sa bande en mains, mais à la condition qu'il deviendrait son associé (Vita, 111, 112).

32. *Jésus, un Galiléen, chef de six-cents hommes lourdement armés à l'intérieur de Jérusalem, et disposant d'une résidence aussi forte qu'une acropole. Un condottiere* (Vita 200, 246).

Dans l'horrible désarroi, on ,,apprit'', la présence de cet homme et de cette troupe à l'intérieur de la Ville: ἐπεὶ δέ τινα Γαλιλαῖον ἤκουσαν Ἰησοῦν ὄνομα, περί αὑτὸν τάξιν ἑξακοσίων ὁπλιτῶν ἔχειν, et on loua les services de ce Jésus en lui avançant trois mois de paye levée en argent sur trois cents citoyens. Sa mission était la suivante: amener Josèphe vivant s'il voulait bien déposer les armes, mais ne pas hésiter à l'abattre s'il résistait (202). Or Josèphe, cette fois, trouva *centre ce Jésus* l'aide *d'un autre Jésus encore*, mais d'une classe sociale toute autre, un grand prêtre, qui le fit avertir par son père du complot, et une fois de plus, il échappa.

Josèphe organisa sa contre-offensive, si bien que son ennemi Jonathan dut se retirer dans le bastion de Jésus le Galiléen, qui ne le cédait en rien en masse et en grandeur à une ,,acropole'': εἰς τὴν Ἰησοῦ οἰκίαν· βᾶρις δ'ἦν αὕτη μεγάλη καὶ οὐδὲν ἀκροπόλεως ἀποδέουσα (246)

Et l'on assiste à une réédition de manoeuvres que nous connaissons déjà. Invité à pénétrer dans la citadelle sans troupes, Josèphe qui, comme nous l'avons vu, avait la pratique de ces traquenards, se garde bien d'obtempérer. Il fait plutôt semblant d'aller dormir, sachant que des Galiléens sont à portée pour lui porter secours en force. Et il mène si bien son jeu que tout finit par des acclamations unanimes, sinon toutes spontanées, à son égard: on proclame qu'il reste le gouverneur souhaité.

Ici, il convient de faire une pause pour réfléchir et s'étonner. Pourquoi a-t-on négligé l'étude de ces Jésus de Josèphe ? Comment n'est-il pas connu comme un trait piquant que celui dont on se demande s'il a connu et mentionné Jésus de Nazareth a dû prendre des précautions pour ne pas être emprisonné dans la forteresse d'un Jésus *qui se trouvait aussi être un Galiléen* ? Et pourquoi ne sait-on pas communément qu'il a eu maille à partir avec tant d'autres Jésus, notamment avec ce *chef des bateliers du lac et des pauvres* du no 29, le Jésus, fils de Sapphias ? La réponse paraît claire. Un mobile de pudeur retenait de montrer l'auguste nom aussi répandu et aussi diversement porté. Le NOM, comme l'annonçait l'épitre aux Philippiens, était devenu au-dessus de tout NOM, et il est volontiers postulé comme unique.

Ce qui nous paraît plus étrange, c'est que l'existence de deux Jésus, chefs de bande, l'un à la tête de 800 hommes, l'autre à la tête de 600 hommes, n'a pas été reconnue comme la source probable, par contamination, d'une tradition qui prêtait un nombre à peu près semblable d'hommes armés à Jésus de Nazareth et dont Lactance nous dit que Hiéroclès, l'auteur antichrétien, s'était fait le champion: ,,*ipsum autem adfirmavit a Judaeis fugatum nongentorum hominum latrocinia fecisse*''. (Div. Instit. v 3. P.L. t. 6, col. 537).

Et il nous paraît qu'il convient d'avoir la lucidité d'opérer certains rapprochements, et d'imaginer certaines contaminations possibles dans le Nouveau Testament même, où apparaissent des traces sporadiques de traditions imaginant un Jésus parfois moins pacifiste, et même soucieux de gouverner Israël. Considérons ces textes:

,,Si nous le laissons aller ainsi, tous croiront en lui, et les *Romains* viendront, et ils enlèveront et notre sol et notre nation'' (Jn xi 48).

,,Veuille ne pas écrire: je suis le roi des Juifs, mais parce qu'il a dit: Je suis le roi des Juifs.'' (Jn xix 31)

Voici encore des traces d'une tradition parlant de violence:

,,Ne croyez pas que je suis venu jeter la paix sur la terre. Je ne suis pas venu jeter la paix, mais le glaive.'' (Mt x 34).

Ce qui fait comprendre, après l'entrée triomphale dans la Ville du "fils de

David", l'esclandre des tables des changeurs renversées en plein Temple." (Mt xxi 12, Lc xix 45)

Observons que, dans l'épisode de l'oreille coupée lors de l'arrestation au Jardin, il demeurait quelque souvenir d'une courte résistance armée suivie d'une prompte débandade.

Enfin, dans la ligne des *latrocinia* argués par Hieroclès, on ne peut s'empêcher de considérer cette déconcertante formulation:

,,Etaient conduits aussi deux *autres* malfaiteurs pour être exécutés" (Lc xxiii 32: καὶ ἕτεροι δύο κακοῦργοι σῦν αὐτῷ).

Enfin, au no 36 de notre inventaire, nous aurons à examiner le choix proposé au peuple et ce Barabbas que certaines versions appellent Jésus-Barabbas.

33. *Jésus, fils de Philippe et beau-frère de Juste* (Vita 178), *parent d'un certain Charès* (Vita, 180).

C'est une victime aux jours tragiques de la Révolte. Il se fait massacrer par les mécontents à Gamala. L'instigateur du meurtre était un certain Josèphe, un homonyme de l'historien et qui était le fils d'une sage-femme (Vita, 185).

34. *Jésus, fils de Gamala,* qu'il faut bien se garder de confondre avec le Jésus fils de Gamaliel du no 27, bien qu'il ait été comme lui un grand prêtre. Jésus de Gamaliel fut destitué avant la Révolte, mais Jésus de Gamala périt dans une terrible émeute, alors que la cause des révoltés n'avait déjà plus aucun espoir de vaincre. Ce Jésus fut étroitement associé à un autre grand prêtre: Ananos, fils d'Ananos. A eux deux ils prirent nettement parti contre les excès des zélotes (Bellum, 161), ce qui consomma leur perte. C'étaient des personnalités très estimées, nous dit Josèphe: οἵ τε δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀρχιερέων, Γαμάλα μὲν υἵος Ἰησοῦς, Ἀνάνου δε Ἀνανος (Bellum, iv 160).

Ils étaient chefs d'un groupe à tendance conservatrice et aristocratique: τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς Ἀνανον καὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Γαμαλα τινάς τε τῶν τῆς αὐτῆς στάσεως (Vita, 193).

Josèphe assure en ce dernier endroit qu'on tenta d'en faire des adversaires de sa propre autorité grandissante.

Ananus fut accusé par les zélotes de vouloir établir sa faction dans une collaboration avec Rome et même de vouloir livrer la Ville (B. iv 228). Josèphe précise que, si Ananus était le doyen d'âge des grands prêtres, Jésus occupait la seconde place dans le classement: ὁ μετα Ἄνανον γεραίτατος τῶν ἀρχιερέων Ἰησοῦς.

Du haut d'une tour des remparts, en un très long discours, ce Jésus harangua une horde d'Iduméens amenés menaçants vers la Ville (B. iv 238-270). Il les tança sévèrement, leur disant que, à la faveur de la Révolte, l'écume de la Nation, des brigands, ont réussi à se faufiler jusque dans le Temple et à y commettre des meurtres. Et à la seule rumeur calomnieuse d'une tentative d'accord avec Rome, leur troupe s'est mise en branle. Or, pour ma part, précise Jésus, j'estime que, de toute façon, il est trop tard pour composer si jamais on en avait encore envie, et je préfère une mort glorieuse à une vie de captivité (258). Mais peut-on réellement incriminer l'existence de quelque lettre qui aurait été interceptée? Non!

Ce discours, dit Josèphe, ne calma pas les Iduméens (270), et Jésus finit par s'en aller découragé (283), désespérant de voir triompher des solutions raisonnables. Au cours d'un violent orage qui s'était déclaré, les Iduméens forcèrent une porte, et vinrent libérer tous les zélotes, et il s'en suivit un épouvantable massacre d'habitants, aussi bien dans le parvis du Temple que dans la Ville. Les émeutiers découvrirent les deux grands prêtres et les tuèrent, après quoi ils se livrèrent à une comédie de dérision sur leurs cadavres, rappelant avec amertume la vitupération de Jésus. (316) Et les deux victimes furent privées de sépulture, ce qu'on ne refusait même pas aux crucifiés.

Josèphe termine en adressant de grands éloges à Ananus. Et il loue Jésus, non comme son égal, mais comme quelqu'un de très remarquable, au-dessus des autres: παρέζευκτο δ'αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ 'Ιησοῦς, αὐτοῦ μὲν λειπόμενος κατὰ σύγκρισίν, προῦχων δε τῶν ἄλλων.

Josèphe s'émeut: ceux qui avaient officié dans des cérémonies et qui avaient joui du respect dans le monde entier restèrent nus, exposés aux chiens et aux bêtes sauvages. Et il conclut: ,,Sur ces hommes, je pense, la Vertu elle-même a gémi, se lamentant d'un tel abaissement, oeuvre de la méchanceté. Et telle fut, cependant, la fin d'Ananus et de Jésus.'' (325). Cette compassion s'explique davantage à la lumière d'un passage de la *Vita*, où Josèphe confesse que Jésus avait été son ami: 'Ιησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Γαμαλά, τῶν ἐν αύτη τῃ βουλῃ γενομένων εἷς, φίλος ὤν καὶ συνηθης ἐμάι (Vita, 204).

Ainsi donc Josèphe, qui avait eu tant d'ennemis parmi les Jésus, fut un ami de Jésus de Gamala, le grand prêtre.

Il lui dut même d'être sauvé d'un des nombreux traquenards où il risqua sa vie. Car, confidentiellement, Jésus lui rendit un jour le service d'avertir son père qu'il avait été décidé de le faire amener vivant à Jérusalem (Vita, 202). Et il est piquant de rappeler que Jésus, le brigand gallileéen du no 31, en une autre circonstance, avait promis d'amener Josèphe vivant à Jérusalem.

35. *Jésus, un autre grand prêtre, transfuge chez les Romains, et sous le conseil de Josèphe.*

Josèphe ne put jamais faire oublier de ceux à sa race que lui-même, gouverneur révolté de la Galilée, avait fini en collaborateur des Romains et en client des Flaviens. Parmi ses manoeuvres qu'on dut maintes fois lui reprocher, il faut mentionner un discours qu'il tint devant le rempart, d'une voix forte, incitant à la reddition, un discours que, dit-il, il termina dans des sanglots. Or, parmi ceux qui lui prêtaient oreille, il y avait deux grands prêtres, dont un Jésus: ὧν ἦσαν ἀρχιερεῖς μεν Ἰώσηπος τε καὶ Ἰησοῦς (Bellum, vi 114).

36. *Jésus, fils de Thebouti, prêtre félon, fraudant pour les Romains* (Bellum, vi 387): τῶν ἱερέων τις, Θεβουθι παῖς, Ἰησοῦς ὄνομα.

Il reçut de l'empereur l'assurance qu'il aurait la vie sauve, s'il lui livrait certains objets convoités. Le prêtre fit passer par dessus le mur deux candélabres semblables à ceux du sanctuaire, des tables, des cratères, des coupes, tous objets d'or et de poids. Il livra en outre des voiles, des robes de grand prêtre ornées de gemmes, et d'autres pièces encore. Ne pourrait-on se demander si ce ne sont pas de ces objets qui figurent parmi ceux qui sont gravés sous l'arc de Titus à Rome? Ce problème ne semble jamais avoir été soulevé.

37. *Jésus, fils d'Ananos, homme du commun, un rural, prophète de malheur, tué sur les remparts au cours du siège* (Bellum, livre vi 300-314): Ἰησοῦς τις υἱός Ἀνάνου, τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ἀγροῖκος.

Nous comptons lui réserver une étude spéciale, vu l'intérêt que son cas nous inspire. Nous comprenons mal pourquoi ce Jésus a, jusqu'ici, si peu attiré l'attention (les Encyclopédies de toutes natures l'ignorent communément). Car, de toute évidence, Josèphe attribue une grande importance à ce personnage. C'est à la fin du relevé de tous les signes et prémonitions qui n'auraient pas pu permettre de douter de la catastrophe finale imminente qu'il insère, comme en un point culminant de fatalité, les terribles prédictions de Jésus d'Ananos, ne comprenant pas qu'on n'en ait pas davantage tenu compte.

Avec une constance infatigable, durant sept ans et cinq mois, circulant par les rues au milieu des coups et des insultes que son pessimisme lui valait, Jésus prédit la ruine de Jérusalem. Il exprimait sa prophétie dans une mélopée de ton apocalyptique, toujours la même, que Josèphe retranscrit. L'indignation qu'il déchaînait avait été d'autant plus passionnée qu'il commença à annoncer le malheur en des jours où la ville était prospère et, apparemment, à l'abri encore de tout danger.

Il apparaît de toute évidence, à lire Josèphe, que cette voix de Cassandre avait beaucoup marqué dans les mémoires. On savait qu'un Jésus avait, avec beaucoup d'insistance, prédit la ruine de la Cité sainte et de son Temple.

Parallèle intéressant à celui à qui inévitablement l'on pense, ce Jésus fut aussi déféré par les autorités juives à un gouverneur romain (Albinus) et qui ne trouva, lui non plus, ainsi que le dit Josèphe, rien de bien grave dans les récriminations qu'on articulait contre le malheureux.

Comme il se pourrait que nous n'ayions plus le temps d'éditer notre seconde étude sur Jésus d'Ananos, nous en résumons brièvement anticipativement le contenu:

Il existe, inséré dans les évangiles synoptiques, un document bien connu qui s'appelle le *Discours eschatologique* qui a donné beaucoup de soucis aux exégètes et aux apologistes. Jésus regarde le Temple de la colline opposée, et il annonce sa destruction, qu'il associe à la fin des temps, à la Parousie. Il est clair que cette production fut évidemment inspirée par les terreurs spectaculaires du siège de la ville (on y dit qu'on la fuit). Tâchons de discerner les deux thèmes qui se sont mêlés dans le Discours eschatologique.

S'il ne fait pas de doute que Jésus de Nazareth avait annoncé la Parousie proche et en avait convaincu les premiers chrétiens, il nous semble qu'il pourrait ne pas avoir annoncé la ruine de la Ville. Et voici, pour nous en convaincre, un argument que nous n'avons jamais vu développer: Paul, qui écrit avant la ruine du Temple, et qui le fréquente, ne semble avoir nulle part soupçonné que Jésus avait annoncé sa ruine, et il ne l'associe certainement pas à la Parousie qu'il croit si proche. Et, d'autre part, le quatrième évangile, tard venu, ne prête plus à Jésus aucune prophétie sur la ruine du Temple. N'est-ce pas étrange? Quel argument n'aurait-ce pas été de faire constater sa brillante réalisation! A vrai dire, c'est qu'il était déjà devenu embarrassant d'en parler: trop d'années déjà s'étaient écoulées depuis la ruine du Temple, et l'on ne s'apercevait que trop bien que la Parousie ne l'avait pas immédiatement suivie . . . On pourrait d'ailleurs être frappé aussi, si l'on daignait y prendre garde, que le prodigieux argument apologétique qui aurait été basé sur la ruine réalisée du Temple n'a *jamais* été exploité dans la Patristique ancienne, à tel point qu'on pourrait même se demander si, peut-être, pour éviter l'embarras des explications sur sa dissociation de la Parousie, on n'avait pas tacitement décidé de n'en plus parler. Observons que Celse, pas mal documenté sur les chrétiens et si désireux de ruiner la crédibilité de Jésus, n'a pas songé à faire état de cette confusion prophétique associant la ruine du Temple à la fin des temps, car Origène dans sa réfutation, aurait été bien obligé de tenter de répondre quelque chose à un pareil grief.

A quel moment a-t-on pu être tenté d'écrire une phrase telle que celle-ci: ,,Aussitôt (εὐθέως) après la tribulation de ces jours, le soleil s'obscurcira, et la lune ne donnera plus sa lumière, et les astres tomberont du ciel'' (Mt xxiv 29)? A un moment où l'on était terrorisé par l'affreuse tragédie de la victoire de Titus, si épouvantable dans les destructions sacrilèges qu'on pouvait s'attendre à les voir déchaîner la fin de tout.

Nous pensons donc qu'au moment des horreurs du siège, on se mit à associer, par contagion d'homonymies et par opportunité, la *Parousie de Jésus de Nazareth* et *la prophétie sur la destruction de la Ville de Jésus d'Ananos,* rural et humble comme lui, et qui, comme lui, avait été déféré à un gouverneur romain par la rancune de la caste dirigeante. Et il en résulta le document que nous appelons le *Discours eschatologique* des synoptiques, par hybridation.

Cette explication, notons-le, détruit la classique aporie de la confusion des deux évènements. Jésus de Nazareth n'avait pas fait cette confusion. Il n'avait parlé que de cette Parousie que Paul, visitant le Temple *sans le savoir menacé par celui qu'il prêchait,* déclarait si imminente aux Thessaloniciens (I iv 15). Des sectateurs de Jésus de Nazareth tentèrent d'attribuer au Seigneur, en surplus, la prophétie de Jésus d'Ananos, en un moment de haute opportunité. Mais contrairement à ce que l'on semble penser, le jeune christianisme, bien vite, ne put plus insister sur la valeur de cet amalgame, et simplement aussi, peut-être, parce que, comme on peut s'en convaincre par la lecture de Josèphe, trop de Juifs devaient se rappeler que la prophétie sur la Ville ne provenait pas de Jésus de Nazareth, mais bien de Jésus d'Ananos.

Tels sont les points essentiels que nous résumons brièvement.

Pour compléter le relevé des Jésus, il faut ajouter ceux qui sont nommés dans le Nouveau Testament:

38. *Jésus, fils d'Eliézer et père de Her,* proposé comme ancêtre de Jésus dans une des deux généalogies (Lc iii 29).

39. *Jésus-Barabba,* intimement mêlé au récit de la Passion, ce brigand dont la foule réclame la liberté à Pilate. Le nom complet de ce personnage nous a été conservé par le syriaque du Sinaï et par le Keridethi de Tiflis: Ἰησοῦν Βαραββᾶν.

On ne peut s'empêcher d'être quelque peu intrigué par cette curieuse coïncidence, car Barabba veut évidement dire en araméen ,,fils du Père'', et, d'autre part, principalement dans l'esprit du quatrième évangile, ,,Fils du Père'' est un nom qui aurait très bien convenu à Jésus de Nazareth. De toute manière, on constate une fois de plus à ce propos combien le nom de Jésus devait être répandu.

40. *Jésus, le père d'un Elymas le mage ou magicien* (Act. xiii 6-12).

C'est ce qui résulte du second nom donné à Elymas: Βαριησοῦς, qui veut évidemment dire ,,fils de Jésus''.

Ce Bar-Jésus Elymas était un pseudo-prophète juif de l'entourage du proconsul Sergius Paulus, à qui Paul rendit visite à Paphos de Chypre. Ce mage ou magicien fit opposition à l'apôtre de ,,Jésus le Christ'' à l'audience du gouverneur, mais il lui en coûta, car Paul, après l'avoir invectivé et appelé ,,Fils du Diable'', au lieu de ,,Fils de Jésus'', lui infligea, séance tenante, ,,pour un temps'', une terrible punition, une cécité qui obligea le mauvais prophète à réclamer aide pour marcher, prodige qui, nous dit-on, fit une grande impression sur le proconsul.

(Curieuse coïncidence: Paul, aveuglé pour un temps par Jésus sur le chemin de Damas, aveugla lui-même, pour un temps, un magicien fils d'un Jésus)

41. *Jésus, dit Justus,* ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰοῦστος.

Ce personnage, romanisé par un *cognomen,* figure dans les salutations prêtées à Paul captif à Rome, qui recommande aux Colossiens de le recevoir (Col. iv 11). Paul nous apprend que ce Jésus-Justus, de même qu'un Marc, neveu de Barnabé, sont des gens de la circoncision très recommandables, ,,les seuls collaborateurs dans le royaume de Dieu qui se sont faits pour moi une consolation.''

Observons que ce surnom latin de Justus est bien dans son cadre, puisque la lettre est supposée partir de Rome.

Jésus, nom de lieu

Pour achever de montrer avec quelle facilité le nom de Jésus était prononcé dans le milieu juif, signalons que Ἰησου figure comme toponyme en 2 Esdras grec, xxi 26 (correspondant à l'hébreu Néhémie xi 26). Il est question de gens appartenant à la tribu de Juda qui se réinstallent en certaines localités de leur ancienne tribu: ἐν Καριαθαρβοκ, ἐν Ἰησου καὶ ἐν Βεερσαβεε (on lit en hébreu ישוע, et la Vulgate a rendu ce nom par *Iosue*)

RECAPITULATION

Groupons les différents Jésus que nous avons rencontrés d'après leurs importances et leurs fonctions:

A. Des *fondateurs*, établissant ou rétablissant le peuple en Palestine. Deux personnages considérables:
   1. Jésus-Josué, le successeur de Moïse (no. 1)
   2. Jésus de Josedek, un des restaurateurs du culte après l'Exil (no. 14)

B. Un détenteur du champ où reposa l'arche, Jésus Bethschemesh (no. 2)

C. *Un fils de roi*, Jésus, fils de Saül (no. 20)

D. *Onze grands prêtres*:
   1. Jésus de Josedek, déjà cité en A.
   2. Jésus de Borkias, de la branche de Phinées (no. 21)
   3. Jésus, fils de Juda, tué dans le Temple par son frère (no. 22)
   4. Jésus-Jason l'hellénisant (no. 23)
   5. Jésus, fils de Phoabès, sous Hérode le Grand (no. 24)
   6. Jésus, fils de Sié, sous Archelaüs (no. 25)
   7. Jésus de Damnaeus, sous Agrippa le jeune (no. 26)
   8. Jésus, fils de Gamaliel, son rival (no. 27)
   9. Jésus, fils de Sapphas, préfet de l'Idumée (no. 28)
   10. Jésus, fils de Gamala, un conservateur, protecteur de Josèphe (no. 34)
   11. Jésus, transfuge chez les Romains (no. 35)

E. *Trois prêtres*:
   1. Jésus, dit le neuvième, sous David (no. 6)
   2. Jésus, chef d'une famille de 973 prêtres au temps du Retour (no. 12).
   3. Jésus de Thebouti, prêtre félon livrant des objets aux Romains durant le siège (no. 36)

F. *Quatre lévites*:

1. Jésus, chef de Lévites au temps du Retour (no. 13)
2. Jésus, fils d'Azaria, lévite à la même époque (no. 15)
3. Jésus, lévite prosterné à la lecture de la Loi par Esdras (no. 17)
4. Jésus, père du lévite Iozabad, lui-même père de lévites, à la même époque encore (no. 18)

G. Des fonctionnaires à *caractère plutôt civil*:

1. Jésus, l'assistant-distributeur des dons (no. 8)
2. Jésus, préfet de Jérusalem sous Josias (no, 9)
3. Jésus, père d'un commandant de Masphé (no. 16)
4. Jésus de Sapphas, préfet de l'Idumée (no. 28) déjà cité en A. 9.

H. *Des écrivains, des lettrés*:

1. Jésus, scribe de David (no. 5)
2. Jésus, fils d'Anani, historien des rois d'Israël (no. 7)
3. Jésus le Siracide, écrivain considérable, l'auteur du livre de l'Ecclésiastique (no. 11)

I. *Un fondateur de famille*, dont le recensement au temps de l'Exil donnait près de trois mille personnes (no. 11)

J. Des Jésus *peu identifiés*: les numérons 3 et 4

K. Un Jésus, *père d'un prophète Habacuc* (no. 10)

L. Une *victime aux jours de la Révolte* (no. 33)

M. *Des aventuriers et des brigands au temps de la Révolte*:

1. Jésus de Sapphias, chef des mariniers et des sans ressources (no. 29)
2. Jésus, fils de Toupha, chef de brigands (no. 30)
3. Jésus, chef de bande dans la zône de Ptolémaïs (no. 31)
4. Jésus, un galiléen, chef de bande et possesseur d'une citadelle (no. 32)
5. Jésus-Barabbas, préféré par la foule au prétoire de Pilate (no. 39)

N. Un prophète de malheur avant le siège et mort sur les remparts (no. 37)

O. Un ancêtre supposé de Jésus de Nazareth (no. 38)

P. Le père d'un magicien en compétition avec Paul (no. 40)

Q. Un fidèle compagnon de Paul (no. 41)

Comment l'on identifia Jésus de Nazareth

La fréquence du nom de Jésus, tout à fait perdue de vue à notre époque, obligeait évidemment à ajouter au nom quelque déterminatif pour qu'on puisse identifier un personnage. Souvent, comme nous l'avons vu, c'est le nom de son père qui était choisi.

Voyons de quelle manière le fondateur du christianisme fut tout d'abord distingué d'autres Jésus. On recourut aux différentes expressions suivantes:

1. Jésus, *dit le Christ*, τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστον
   Ainsi parle Pilate aux Juifs (Mt xxvii 17).
2. Jésus, *le roi des Juifs*. C'est le titre inscrit au-dessus de la Croix et précisant le grief d'accusation.
3. Jésus, *le fils de Joseph* (Lc iv 22)
4. Jésus *le charpentier* (ὁ τέκτων, Mc vi 3)
5. Jésus, *le fils du charpentier* (Mt xiii 55)
6. Jésus *le Galiléen* (Mt xxvi 69). Formulation assez imprécise, que nous avons déjà rencontrée au no. 32.
7. Jésus *de Nazara* (Mt i 4 et Lc iii 32). L'adjectif Ναζαρηνός (Mc xiv 67) semble se rapporter le mieux à ce nom.
8. Jésus *de Nazareth* (Ναζαρετ et Ναζαρεθ)
   On sait que cette localité n'avait jamais été mentionnée, ni dans l'hébreu, ni dans la LXX, ni dans Josèphe, qui parle cependant de Gennesar (B. iii 506) qu'on lit en 1 Mac. ii 67. Josèphe parle du lac de Gennèsar (Ἡ δὲ λίμνη Γεννησαρ)
9. Jésus le *Nazoréen*.
   Bien que, pour tourner les difficultés, on en soit arrivé à accréditer toutes les confusions, il ne nous paraît pas que Ναζωραῖος puisse être grammaticalement regardé comme l'adjectif d'un toponyme Ναζαρεθ, ni même du toponyme Ναζαρα. Il est difficile de préciser le sens primitif de Ναζωραῖος, mais il nous semble que l'équivalent ישו הנוצרי, qu'on lit dans le Talmud rend compte de l'omega (Aboda Zara, 16b et Synhedrin 103a, imprimé avec une faute à la page 35 du livret bien connu de Aufhauser: Jesus-Zeugnisse, 1925) et dut évoquer la même idée, peut-être, comme on y a déjà songé, celle d'un *nazir*.

On pourrait arguer que, dans le document que nous avons appelé l'*Oniriste,* Ναζαρεθ et Ναζωραῖος se trouvent pourtant associés. Mais Jérôme était trop informé grammaticalement pour accepter de voir là l'adjectif correspondant au toponyme. Il y était d'autant moins enclin qu'on ne connaissait aucune prophétie annonçant que le Messie serait ainsi appelé (On sait que plus d'un imagina qu'il y avait une prophétie, mais perdue). Jérôme trouva une explication en supposant que la prophétie partout cherchée devait se reconnaître dans Isaïe (XI, 1) et que donc Ναζωραῖος correspondait non à Nazareth, mais à *néçèr,* et c'est ainsi que Jésus devint le fameux *rejeton de Jessé.*

En dehors de l'explication par le *nazir* (le séparé et le consacré qui ne se tond ni ne boit de l'alcohol de la Loi ancienne) on pouvait encore voir le sens plus rare de ,,prince'' que présente parfois ce mot (Gen. xlix 36 et Dt xxxiii 16) qui correspondrait au ,,Roi'' du ,,Royaume''.

THE USE AND NON-USE OF PNEUMA BY JOSEPHUS [1]

BY

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The Greek Bible normally translates the Hebrew *ruach* by *pneuma* (the principal departure is found when *ruach* is applied to the spirit of man). The two words *ruach* and *pneuma*, though possessing the same fundamental meaning, 'wind', differed widely in development [2]; *ruach* possessed a range and depth of meaning not to be found in *pneuma* except where it had been affected by Jewish, and possibly also Iranian, influence. The equating of *pneuma* with *ruach* in the LXX must have produced a difficult concept for non-Semitic readers. How would an educated Jew have attempted to put over for Greek readers the meanings of *ruach*? The LXX does not help us but Josephus, who sought in his *Antiquities* to interpret the Biblical history for such Greek readers, can give some assistance in answering the question. How then does he avoid or make use of the Biblical *ruach/pneuma* concept? The first ten books of the *Antiquities* are concerned with the sacred history which he rearranges, digests or expands from time to time, but which on the whole he follows fairly closely. From I Samuel onwards he seems to have been mainly indebted to the Greek Bible, but in the earlier books he had preferred the use of the Hebrew text (or possibly an Aramaic Targum) as basis for his work [3].

It must be realised that Josephus omits large portions of the Biblical history and so rewrites other parts that many instances of *ruach/pneuma* disappear altogether without leaving us any trace of how Josephus would have dealt with the problem of translation. Our concern is with those passages in which he either retains the word *pneuma*, or introduces it, or conveys what it means by either substituting another word or phrase or by rewriting the passage.

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[1] All references are to the *Jewish Antiquities* except where otherwise explicitly identified. The text used has been that of the LOEB edition, and where that has not yet appeared, that of NABER.

[2] Cf. P. VOLZ, *Der Geist Gottes*; E. DE W. BURTON, *Spirit, Soul, and Flesh*; F. BÜCHSEL, *Der Geist Gottes im Neuen Testament*, pp. 1-147; W. R. SHOEMAKER, *The Use of 'Ruach' in the Old Testament, and of 'Pneuma' in the New Testament: a lexicographical study*, *J.B.L.*, 23 (1904) 13-67; KLEINKNECHT, BAUMGÄRTEL, SJÖBERG, BIEDER, SCHWEIZER, *T.W.N. T.* VI, pp. 330-453.

[3] Cf. THACKERY *H.D.B.* V, pp. 467b, 468a; and in the introduction to vol. IV of LOEB *Josephus*, p. xii. Contrast Josephus' own implication that he translated everything from the Hebrew, I, 5.

It is obvious that some of the Biblical usages of *ruach/pneuma* cause him no difficulty. This is true when it means 'wind'. He retains its use in this sense in VIII, 346 = 1 Kings 18. 45; IX, 36 = 2 Kings 3. 17. With the LXX, he replaces *ruach* of the Hebrew in Dan. 2. 35 = X, 207; Dan. 8. 8 = X, 271 by ἄνεμος [1]). He uses *pneuma* on a number of occasions where it is not used at the precise point in Scripture, though it may occur in the context: II, 343, 349 (cf. Exod. 14. 21; 15. 8, 10); IX, 210 (cf. Jonah 1. 4); X, 279. He uses it also in this sense in places where he is not dependent on the O.T., XII, 75; XIV, 28, XVI 17, 62; B. J. IV, 477. There is thus no tendency to avoid the use of the word in this sense. No occasions happen to arise in which Josephus is forced to decide whether to continue the use of *ruach/pneuma* in the sense of breath; outside the Biblically controlled passages he does so use it twice, viz, III, 291 (where he introduces it into the context of Num. 10. 1 ff.) and XVII, 169. We postpone the discussion of I, 34 and III, 260.

It is in those passages in which *pneuma/ruach* is referred to man that Josephus has made the greatest change. Where *pneuma/ruach* was equivalent to the personal pronoun in the original Josephus normally replaces it by the pronoun or by a pronominal or other phrae: VI, 360 = 1 Sam. 30. 12; VIII, 356 = 1 Kings 21. 5 (LXX 20. 5); VII, 173 = 2 Kdms. 13. 21; III, 271 = Num. 5. 14, 30 (the spirit of jealousy becomes ὑπὸ τῆς ζηλοτυπίας); II, 75 = Gen. 41. 8 (The M.T. text says that Pharaoh's *ruach* was troubled, the LXX says that his ψυχή was troubled, Josephus uses the participle ἀχθόμενος); V, 345 = 1 Sam. 1.15 (here the LXX has already changed the phrase). Very similar to the usage of *ruach* as thepersonal pronoun is its occurrence in 2 Chron. 36. 22 = Ezra 1. 1, where it is said that the Lord stirred up the *ruach* of Cyrus; here Josephus XI, 3 follows the LXX in retaining the phrase but substitutes ψυχή for *ruach*. Josephus (XIII, 201) replaces the *pneuma* of 1 Macc. 13. 7 by ψυχή, and in XI, 237 = Esther 5. 1e he uses διάνοια. We should note also at this point that the phrase recurring in DSS, 'to judge the spirits', 1 QS 5. 20-24; 6. 17; cf. 9. 14-18; CD 20. 24, reappears in Josephus as τὸ ἦθος δοκιμάζεται (B. J. II, 138). In one instance where *ruach* means 'anger' (Judges 8.3) this is made explicit by Josephus, V, 231. In Esther 8. 12 m (16. 12) where *pneuma* is used of 'life' (to take a man's life) Josephus IX, 278 replaces it by ψυχή in accordance with Greek usage; cf. VIII, 325 = 3 Kdms. 17. 17 [1]. In 1 Chron. 28. 12 where *pneuma/ruach* is used of 'mind' (the plans David had in mind), Josephus VII, 375 merely says that David gave the plans to Solomon; they are obviously David's plans and no ambiguity is left when we omit the mention of David's 'mind'. Josephus can also avoid the use of *pneuma* by a long or short paraphrase or by the omission of the clause in which it appears, thus showing his discomfort with it; XI, 8 = Ezra 1. 5; IV, 40 = Num. 16. 22 (note his retention of the universal reference of the phrase); in VIII, 170 = 1 Kings 10. 5 = 2 Chron. 9. 4 and IX, 102 = 2 Chron. 21. 16 *pneuma* has already disappeared from the LXX. Josephus introduces *pneuma* at one place, XI, 240 = Esther 5. 2a, where it does not appear in our existing LXX text (= καρδία); the usage here is undoubtedly Hebraic: εὐθὺς ὑπεχώρει μοι τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ κατελειπόμην ὑπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς (cf. 1 Kings 10. 5 etc.). It may be that Josephus possessed a different Greek text at this point from ours or it may represent merely a lapse into a Jewish mode of thought; he was brought up a Jew and temporarily forgets his purpose to translate Jewish terms into Greek clothing. On one other occasion we find *pneuma* used of the human spirit, viz., B. J. III, 92,[2] where he describes the Roman soldiers before battle as τινὸς ἀρηίου πνεύματος ὑποπιμπλάμενοι. We must remember that the Greek version of *B.J.* is based on an Aramaic original and this may be an oversight in the interpretative translation; it is also possible that ἀρήϊος is to be given here its full value and understood not as 'martial', but as 'of the God, Ares'; we will see shortly that Josephus has no objection to speaking of men as possessed with the divine *pneuma*, and he prefers to say θεῖον πνεῦμα rather than πνεῦμα θεοῦ; this may then be a parallel in which he suggests that the Roman soldiers are filled with the spirit of Ares; it would not then be an example of *pneuma* in the human sense but in the divine.

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[1]) Theod. reads *pneuma* in Dan. 2.35 and ἄνεμος in 8.8.

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[1] The Hebrew is here *neshamah*, which is in many respects equivalent to *ruach*; cf. BAUMGÄRTEL, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

[2] In *B.J.* III, 70-97 Josephus appears to be largely indebted to Polybius (VI, 19-42); but the precise reference to the shouting in III, 92 is not found in Polybius.

Two places into which Josephus has introduced *pneuma* seem to stand by themselves (i) III, 260 (= Lev. 17. 11), ψυχὴν αὐτὸ (τὸ αἷμα) καὶ πνεῦμα νομίζων. The Hebrew says that the *nephesh* of the flesh is in the blood and the LXX that the ψυχή of all flesh is its blood; in both cases the reference is to all that lives, animals as well as men. In non-Biblical Greek there does not appear to be any connection of this nature between ψυχή and blood, and this would be an exceedingly difficult phrase for the Greek thinker; contemporary Greek medical thought did however make a connection between *pneuma* and the blood 1). *Pneuma* is a corporeal term in Stoic thought and could therefore be related to blood. Probably it is then under Stoic influence that Josephus has inserted *pneuma* at this point and it is an attempt to explain this peculiar usage of ψυχή to the Hellenistic world. (ii) I, 34 (= Gen. 2. 7), πνεῦμα ἐνῆκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ψυχήν 2). *Nephesh* and ψυχή appear in the Scripture in that man becomes 'a living soul' by this act of God. It was *neshamah* (πνοή) that God breathed into man; now *neshamah* is in large part equivalent to *ruach* 3) in the O.T. and this may have suggested to Josephus the use of *pneuma* here; further in Greek πνοή is a purely physiological term without psychological overtones like *pneuma*, but Gen. 2. 7 is more than a description of the physiological creation of man; hence Josephus' use of *pneuma*. This is re-inforced by the use of ψυχή; to the Greek it is easier to say man has a soul than that he is one. So Josephus parallels *pneuma* and ψυχή hoping that they will explain each other.

When the *ruach/pneuma* conception refers to God Josephus is more inclined to retain it than when it refers to man. We find that he has kept it in I, 27 = Gen. 1. 2 4); IV, 118 = Num. 23. 7 (Josephus has here put the reference to the divine *pneuma* at the end of the speech rather than at the beginning as in the LXX;

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1) Cf. G. Verbeke, *L'Evolution de la Doctrine du Pneuma*, pp. 177 ff. Cf. Philo, *Qu. in Exod.* II, 59.

2) The statement of Gen. 2.7 that God breathed into the face of man disappears, presumably as too anthropomorphic.

3) Cf. note. 5.

4) Perhaps *pneuma* should be taken here as 'breath'; in the context, however, it is certainly a breath coming from God and it is thus easier to give it the full meaning 'spirit'. A Greek reader would be at liberty to take it as 'breath'.

there is no reference to the Spirit at this point in the M.T. [1]). VI, 222 = 1 Sam. 19. 20; VI, 223 = 1 Sam. 19. 23; X, 239 = Dan. 5.14 (M.T. and Theod., but not LXX). We may note that in each case Josephus changes πνεῦμα θεοῦ to θεῖον πνεῦμα (Except Gen. 1. 2, where the possibility of change does not arise) [2]). There are a number of points at which Josephus introduces *pneuma* where it does not occur in either M.T. or LXX at the exact point but does appear in the immediate context. (i) IV, 108 = Num. 22. 15 ff.; *ruach* occurs in the M.T. at 24. 2 and *pneuma* at 24. 2 and 23. 7 in LXX (A) [3]). The part played by the divine spirit in this encounter of Balaam with the angel is difficult; Balaam riding on the ass approaches the angel; the ass is conscious of the divine *pneuma*; it is said that both angel and divine *pneuma* draw nearer to the ass; this may imply identification of the two and the divine spirit is here to be thought of as 'a spirit'; then the ass speaks with a human voice and we must assume that the divine spirit has entered it and so it has the gift of prophecy; then the angel speaks, and so appears to be regarded as distinct from the divine *pneuma*. The divine *pneuma* is in any case here connected with oracular speech. (ii) IV, 119 f. = Num. 23. 12. In Scripture Balaam attributes his prophetic speech to God; Josephus transfers the attribution to the divine *pneuma*; it is only on this occasion that he speaks of τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα instead of θεῖον πνεῦμα, making it somewhat more personal. We may note again that Josephus emphasises more strongly than Scripture the passivity of Balaam and the compulsion to utter what is put in his mouth by the Spirit of God. (iii) VI, 166 = 1 Sam. 16. 14; but the reference to the divine *pneuma* in regard to David is found at 1 Sam. 16. 13. We may in passing note the disappearance from this passage of the evil *ruach* of Yahweh; Saul is said to be afflicted by πάθη τινὰ καὶ δαιμόνια. (iv) VIII, 408; the context of this is 1 Kings 22. 21-24 in which the *ruach/pneuma* concept occurs. With the exception of I, 27 = Gen. 1. 2 the divine *pneuma* is thus connected with the gift of oracular or prophetic speech. This was becoming an admissible usage of *pneuma* in Greek; it occurs frequently in Plutarch's discussion of the Delphic Oracle which is inspired by a breath coming from a cavern in the earth [1]. In I, 27 *pneuma* plays no clear role; loyalty to such an important passage of Scripture demands its retention; a Greek could easily take it to mean 'wind' or 'breath'.

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[1]) This is an indication that at this point he is following the Greek rather than the Hebrew.

We may observe also that he indicates here that when the Spirit seizes a man he is passive under it and his own desires and mind are overruled by it; cf. VI, 223.

[2]) A. SCHLATTER, *Die Theologie des Judentums nach dem Bericht des Josefus*, p. 58, notes this alteration as part of a general change in which Josephus avoids ἅγιος and substitutes θεῖος in such similar phrases as θεὸς ἅγιος, ἄγγελος ἅγιος. Such a general change hardly arises here as the O.T. rarely uses the phrase πνεῦμα ἅγιον though it is more common in the Rabbinic writings and in those of the Qumran Community. BURTON, *op. cit.*, p. 116 argues that the phrase θεῖον πνεῦμα was in use as early as 300 B.C. in non-Biblical Greek; cf. KLEINKNECHT, *T.W.N.T.* VI, p. 336 f.

[3]) This is one of the few places where *ruach* is not found in M.T. but the LXX introduces *pneuma*.

The only genuinely new place into which Josephus introduces the conception of the divine *pneuma* comes in Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple, VIII, 114 = 1 Kings 8. 27-30; 2 Chron. 6. 18-21; Solomon prays that μοῖράν τινα τοῦ σοῦ πνεύματος may dwell in the Temple. Elsewhere Josephus refers to the dwelling of God himself in the Temple, III, 100, 202; VIII 102, 106; B. J. V. 459. Judaism tended to speak of the *Shekinah* rather than of God as present in the Temple. Moreover in 'Jewish literature the "holy spirit" frequently occurs in connections in which "the Presence" (*shekinah*) is elsewhere employed, without any apparent difference of meaning' [2]. It is this which may have led Josephus to his choice of *pneuma* at this point preferring it to '*Shekinah*', an even more difficult concept for the non-Jew. To the Stoic also *pneuma* was corporeal and hence it is possible to refer to a 'portion' of the *pneuma* [3]. God is undoubtedly in heaven, all Solomon asks is that a portion of his spirit should dwell in the Temple. In this way Josephus attempts to overcome the gap between the conception of Heaven as God's dwelling place and his particular presence in the Temple—a difficulty which is felt particularly at this point in Solomon's prayer.

However in the majority of instances Josephus has substituted some other phrase for the reference to the Spirit in the original; in most cases the substituted phrase retains a supernatural reference. In a number of instances he sublimates an explicit mention of the spirit of God into a reference to prophecy, prophecy being a supernatural phenomenon well-known in the ancient world;

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[1] *De defectu oraculorum*, 432 ff.

[2] G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, I, p. 437.

[3] Cf. Shoemaker, *op. cit.*, p. 46, who argues that the quantitative conception is uppermost in Josephus' mind.

IV, 165 = Num. 27. 18; V, 285 = Judges 13. 25 (It is odd that Samson has to be brought under the category of prophet); VIII, 295 = 2 Chron. 15. 1; IX, 10 = 2 Chron. 20. 14; IX, 169 = 2 Chron. 24. 20. Josephus thus mentions prophets and prophecy both with and without reference to the divine spirit. The spirit is mentioned only in reference to prophets of the Biblical period; where he mentions prophecy outside that period he does not use the term *pneuma* [1]. Where in 1 Sam. 10. 6; 11. 6 Scripture speaks of the Spirit as coming on Saul, Josephus speaks of him as γενόμενος ἔνθεος, VI, 56, 76. In V, 182 = Judges 3. 10 Othniel is warned by an oracle. In V, 263 = Judges 11. 29 Jephthah prays for victory. In Judges 15. 14 = V, 300 where Samson in the power of the spirit breaks his bonds, Josephus does not say that the spirit came on him but does attribute his strength to divine assistance (V, 301). In 1 Sam. 16. 14 = VI, 166 where the M. T. and LXX speak of the Spirit of the Lord leaving Saul, Josephus says that τὸ θεῖον abandoned Saul and passed over to David; we find a similar change in Dan. 6. 4 = X, 250: Josephus frequently replaces ὁ θεός by τὸ θεῖον but the latter also represents the 'powers' which stand alongside God in the administration of the cosmos [2]. It is possible to suspect that πνεῦμα may have been omitted at an early stage in the development of the text. In Gen. 6. 3 = I, 75 the conception of the Spirit of God as abiding in man is written out of the text altogether: God condemns the people and then sends the flood. On a number of occasions where the *ruach/pneuma* conception refers to the giving of intelligence and understanding the supernatural reference completely disappears and the person described appears as wise or skilful in a purely human way (Gen. 41. 38 = II, 87; Exod. 28. 3; 31. 3; 35. 31 = III, 200). Some references are so embarrassing that they dropped without leaving any trace: Judges 14. 6 = V, 287; Judges 14. 19 = V, 294 in which Samson is portrayed in the original as a charismatic hero; there is no means of transforming him into a prophet at this point. Likewise the reference to the transportation of Elijah by the spirit goes out: 1 Kings 18. 12 = VIII, 333. We may note however that when Saul appeared as a charismatic hero in 1 Sam. 11.6 Josephus describes him as ἔνθεος γενόμενος, VI, 76; at IX, 183 Elisha is described as having δύναμιν θείαν. Josephus does not thus drop the idea that God can assist men other than by the enlightening of their understanding, though he uses *pneuma* only of the latter.

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[1] Cf. Schlatter, *op. cit.*, p. 58. Josephus himself possessed the prophetic gift: B.J. III, 399-408; B.J. IV, 622-29. He attributes it to John Hyrcannus and to various Essenes: XIII, 299 f.; B.J. I, 69; B.J. VI, 300 ff.; B.J. I, 78-80; B.J. II, 159; Ant. XIII, 311-313 etc. Cf. Büchsel, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-8; E. Fascher, ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ, pp. 161-4; G. Delling, *Josephus und das Wunderbare, N.T.* 2 (1958) 291-301. Josephus also maintains that the series of prophets ended with the O.T.; cf. c. Ap. I, 41. This was a general position of Judaism. Yet spiritual gifts e.g. foretelling future events, continued; to meet this the Rabbis introduced the conception of the Bath Qol.

[2] Cf. Schlatter, *op. cit.*, p. 24. We may compare the use of ἔνθεος of the prophets; VI, 56; B.J. III, 353.

The increasing tendency in Judaism after the Persian period to use *pneuma* of disembodied spirits is also found in Josephus; this usage also appears in non-Biblical Greek [1]). For the evil spirit which came on Saul Josephus retains *pneuma* (VI, 214 = 1 Sam. 19. 9 cf. VI, 211, though he qualifies it with δαιμόνιον [2]). At VI, 166, 8 = 1 Sam. 14-16 the evil *pneuma* becomes πάθη τινὰ καὶ δαιμόνια. In both cases he does not go along with the Bible in stating that the evil spirit came from God. At VI, 211 he introduces a reference to τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῶν δαιμονίων. In B.J. VII, 185, τὰ δαιμόνια are spoken of as the πνεύματα of the wicked dead which enter into the living; and in B.J. I, 69 he traces prophecy to τὸ δαιμόνιον indicating how closely δαιμόνιον and πνεῦμα were associated in his mind. Micah's vision of the lying spirit entering the false prophets (1 Kings 22. 21-23 = 2 Chron. 18. 20-23) is rewritten without mention of *pneuma*, the prophets being explicitly called 'false' (VIII, 406). Judges 9. 23 is also rewritten in V, 240 to remove the mention of *pneuma*.

In conclusion we may say that *pneuma* is retained in the meanings which a Greek would easily accept, e.g. wind, breath. It virtually disappears where it is applied to the spirit of man; this is an extension of a tendency already found in the LXX; the same occurs in Philo. When it applies to God we find θεῖον πνεῦμα rather than πνεῦμα θεοῦ; its usage here is almost completely restricted to prophecy and oracular speech and is used only of such within the Biblical period; when prophecy is discussed outside that period *pneuma* is never used. This restriction to prophecy both follows the general tendecy of post-Biblical Judaism and links up with Greek usage in Plutarch.

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[1]) Cf. Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[2]) On the use of the root δαιμον. with reference to good and evil spirits see H. St. J. Thackeray and R. Marcus, *A Lexicon to Josephus*, p. 119.

LUKIAN VON SAMOSATA UND DAS CHRISTENTUM

VON

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Das Schrifttum des hellenistischen Satirikers Lukian von Samosata (ca. 120-180 p. Chr.) ist bekanntlich eine hervorragende Quelle für die Kenntnis des geistigen Lebens im 2. Jahrhundert. Seine Schriften sind voll von mannigfachen Bemerkungen über die klassischen Dichter, über die Philosophen, über antike Kunstwerke, über das Volk und seine Sprache, sein Denken und sein Leben ¹).

Lukian geht auch in zweien seiner Schriften auf die Christen ein, und zwar mit einer für seine Person überraschenden Ausführlichkeit, sodass er uns Heutigen Gelegenheit gibt zu sehen, wie das Christentum sich in den Augen eines weitgereisten, hochgebildeten, aber doch oberflächlichen Schriftstellers des 2. Jahrhunderts ausnahm ²).

Das Problem besteht nun darin, dass Lukians Ausführungen nicht ohne weiteres als ein auf die wirklichen Verhältnisse zutreffender Bericht genommen werden dürfen. Vielmehr stellen sie ein eigenartiges Gemisch von Angaben dar, die historische Wahrscheinlichkeit beanspruchen können, aber auch von tendenziösen Entstellungen, vor allem aber von Uminterpretationen.

Dabei kann als sicher gelten, dass Lukians Kenntnisse nicht

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¹) Vgl. die Bibliographie zu meiner Dissertation *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament* (Masch., Mainz, 1957, S. 256 ff), die demnächst in den *Texten und Untersuchungen* erscheint.

²) In meiner Diss. bin ich bereits kurz auf das Problem eingegangen (S. X ff.). — S. weiter: R. Jebb, *Lucian* (in: *Essays and Addresses*, Cambridge, 1907, S. 164-192); P. De Labriolle, *La réaction païenne*, Paris, 1934, S. 97 ff. (Abdr. aus *Les Humanités*, Paris, 1929, S. 148 ff.); M. Caster, *Lucien et la pensée religieuse de son temps*, Paris, 1937, S. 346 ff.; C. Curti, *Luciano e i Cristiani* (*Miscellanea di Studi di Letteratura cristiana antica*, Catania, 1954, S. 86 ff.); G. Bagnani, *Peregrinus Proteus and the Christians* (*Historia*, Bd IV, Wiesbaden, 1955, S. 107 ff.); V. Daumer, *Lucien de Samosate et la secte chrétienne* (*Cahiers du Cercle Ern. Renan* XIII, 1er trim., Paris 1957).

aus der Lektüre christlicher Schriften stammen [1]. Man wird vielmehr annehmen müssen, dass er das Christentum auf seinen zahlreichen Reisen kennengelernt hat; weiterhin wird er sich angeeignet haben, was man zu seiner Zeit und in seinen Kreisen über diese neue Religion wusste. Das besagt nun, dass seine Angaben über die Christen sicher mit Vorsicht behandelt werden müssen, dass sie gleichwohl aber Zutreffendes enthalten können. Auf der anderen Seite hat Lukian das Christentum kaum in seiner Eigenart erfasst, sondern für ihn war es eben eine der neuen „τελεταί" [2] aus dem Orient; was für diese gilt, wird er für jenes ohne weiteres vorausgesetzt haben.

Lukian befasst sich mit den Christen in den Schriften „Alexander sive Pseudomantis" und „De morte Peregrini" [3]; allerdings sind sie dort nicht Thema der Darstellung, sondern werden nur beiläufig behandelt. Deswegen wird man mit M. CASTER immer unterscheiden müssen zwischen dem, was „Lucien veut nous dire, et ce qu'il révèle involontairement" [4].

I

In der Schrift „Alexander sive Pseudomantis" erwähnt Lukian die Christen. Es geht darum, dass es Alexander von Abonuteichos durch allerlei Betrügereien gelungen ist, einen neuen Kult mit einem Orakel einzurichten; aber bald sah er sich der wachsenden Gegnerschaft der Schüler des Epikur gegenüber, die seine Machenschaften durchschauten. Um sich der Epikureer zu erwehren, liess er ein „φόβητρον" gegen sie verkünden, des Inhalts: „ἀθέων ἐμπεπλῆσθαι καὶ Χριστιανῶν τὸν Πόντον, οἳ περὶ αὐτοῦ τολμῶσι τὰ κάκιστα βλασφημεῖν" [5]. Es sei ein dem Gotte wohlgefälliges Werk, sie mit Steinen zu vertreiben. In der Folge stellt Lukian heraus, dass die ganze Feindschaft Alexanders den Epikureern gilt: während er zunächst Epikureer und Christen zusammen nennt, spricht er im folgenden nur noch von den Epikureern als den erklärten Feinden Alexanders. M. CASTER hat richtig beobachtet [1]), dass nach der Tendenz des Lukian allein den Epikureern das Verdienst zukommt, die Betrügereien des Pseudopropheten entlarvt zu haben, während die Anhänger des Platon, des Chrysipp und des Pythagoras sich haben übertölpeln lassen und mit ihm in tiefem Frieden leben.

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[1] Zuletzt war es P. RIESSLER, der eine „merkwürdige Bekanntschaft mit den Schriften des Alten und Neuen Bundes" annahm (*Lucian von Samosata und die Heilige Schrift*, in: *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Jg. 140, 1933, S. 64 ff.).

[2] So F. J. DÖLGER, ΙΧΘΥΣ, Bd II, Münster, 1922, S. 516.

[3] An vielen anderen Stellen hat man fälschlich Bezugnahmen vermutet; besonders die Wundergeschichte in "Philopseudes", cap. 16 hat man immer wieder mit Jesus in Verbindung gebracht. Vgl. meine *Diss.*, S. XVI f.

[4] *Lucien*, S. 349.

[5] cap. 25, ed. *Iacobitz.*

Die Frage ist nun, warum Lukian die Christen überhaupt nennt, wenn er an ihnen kein eigentliches Interesse hat. Man wird M. CASTER zustimmen, wenn er meint, dass nicht Lukian es ist, der die Epikureer und die Christen zusammenordnet, sondern Alexander [2]); aber sein Schluss: „En affectant de confondre les Epicuriens avec les Chrétiens comme athées les uns et les autres, il voulait, pense Lucien, créer une association d'idées défavorable aux Epicuriens” ist zumindest nirgends angedeutet. Sicherlich wollte Lukian die Christen nicht dadurch ehren, dass er sie mit den Epikureern zusammen genannt sah und genannt liess. Ob Lukian aber der Meinung war, Alexander habe mit Absicht diese Zusammenstellung vorgenommen, um die Epikureer in Misskredit zu bringen, ist doch fraglich [3]). Für Alexander war sicher einfach der Anlass, dass gerade diese beiden Gruppen seinem Unternehmen im Wege standen [4]); gegen sie beide ging er denn auch vor durch das „φόβητρον” (cap. 25), dessen Inhalt Lukian bekannt war, und durch die Liturgie des neuen Mysteriendramas, das Alexander jährlich begehen liess (cap. 38). Dort enthielt die „πρόρρησις” den Satz: „Εἴ τις ἄθεος ᾒ Χριστιανὸς ἢ Ἐπικούρειος ἥκει κατάσκοπος τῶν ὀργίων, φευγέτω.”

Sodann erfolgte die „ἐξέλασις”, indem Alexander rief: „Ἔξω Χριστιανούς” und „τὸ . . πλῆθος ἅπαν ἐπεφθέγγετο Ἔξω Ἐπικουρείους”. Beiden nämlich fehlte die unerlässliche Voraussetzung für die Einweihung in die neuen Mysterien, der Glaube an den neuen Gott Glykon, das „πιστεύειν τῷ θεῷ” [5]).

Diese liturgischen Stücke [6]) wird Lukian zuverlässig zitieren, was gerade auch darin sich bestätigt, dass ihm an den Christen gar nichts liegt, sondern dass es ihm einzig darum geht, Alexanders „πόλεμος πρὸς 'Επίκουρον'' 1) aufzuzeigen. So ist es auch zu begreifen, dass Lukian gegen die Zusammenordnung von Epikureern und Christen keinen Einspruch erhebt.

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[1]) *Lucien*, S. 349.

[2]) *Lucien*, S. 349.

[3]) Gegen diese These M. CASTERS wendet sich auch C. CURTI, S. 90 ff.

[4]) Vgl. M. CASTER, *Études sur Alexandre ou le faux Prophète de Lucien.* Paris, 1938, S. 45 f.

[5]) Alex. cap. 38. Beide Parteien gelten als “ἄθεοι”, capp. 25. 38.

[6]) Vgl. Apk XXII 15.

II

Die Schrift „De morte Peregrini'' hat den Zweck, die „δοξοκοπία'' des Peregrinus Proteus zu entlarven, der sich im Jahre 165 p. Chr. in Olympia selbst verbrannte und dem von seinen Jüngern ein Kult eingerichtet worden war 2). In seinem Leben hat es eine Periode gegeben, in der er Christ war 3). Das Christentum nennt Lukian eine „θαυμαστὴ σοφία'', sicher in abfälligem Sinne 4); Peregrinus habe sie in Palästina gelernt, wo er mit den Priestern und Schriftgelehrten der Christen zusammengewesen sei 5).

Wie vorsichtig man mit den Angaben Lukians sein muss, wird deutlich aus der folgenden Aufzählung von Ämtern, die Peregrinus binnen kurzer Zeit an sich gerissen haben soll: „προφήτης καὶ θιασάρχης καὶ ξυναγωγεὺς καὶ πάντα μόνος αὐτὸς ὤν'' 6).

Handelt es sich bei diesen Kultämtern um eine christliche Liste oder um eine jüdische oder um eine im Hellenismus allgemein übliche? Ihr Schluss 7) lässt jedenfalls die Annahme zu, dass es sich um eine hierarchische Folge handelt, durch die eine Klimax erreicht werden soll. Von christlichen Propheten redet schon das Neue Testament, aber „θιασάρχης'' und „ξυναγωγεύς'' sind im urchristlichen Schrifttum als christliche Titel nicht belegt 8). Alle

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1) Alex. cap. 25; vgl. cap. 1.

2) Peregr. 1. 28; vgl. M. Caster, Lucien, S. 241 ff.

3) G. Bagnani will diese christliche Periode auf die Jahre 120 bis 140 datieren.

4) C. Curti, S. 96, Anm. 26, meint, "θαυμαστός" sei hier im Gegensatz zu cap. 17 nicht ironisch gemeint.

5) Christliche "ἱερεῖς" können für die nachneutestamentliche Zeit angenommen werden (vgl. schon Apk xx 6); christliche "γραμματεῖς" werden bereits Mt xiii 52; xxiii 34 genannt. Die Nachricht kann daher authentisch sein, obwohl Lukian andererseits kaum zwischen Juden und Christen unterschieden haben wird, wie R. Jebb mit Recht bemerkt (S. 184 f.). Dass es essenisch beeinflusste Judenchristen gewesen seien, ist eine unbegründete Behauptung Bagnanis (S. 110).

6) cap. 11.

7) S. die Parallelen in meiner *Diss.*, S. 182, Anm. 2.

8) Vgl. W. Bauer, *Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, 5. Aufl. Berlin 1958, s.v.

aber sind charakteristische Kulttitel im hellenistischen Heidentum [1]).

Wenn Lukian behauptet, Peregrinus habe die Schriften der Christen ausgelegt und sogar selbst viele verfasst, so kann das sehr wohl zutreffen, aber dass die Christen ,,ὡς θεὸν αὐτὸν . . . ἡγοῦντο καὶ νομοθέτῃ ἐχρῶντο καὶ προστάτην ἐπέγραφον'' ist wiederum Übertragung üblicher hellenistischer Vorstellungen. Sie hielten Peregrinus für einen ,,θεῖος ἄνθρωπος'' [2]), was auch in christlichem Verständnis möglich gewesen sein kann, wenngleich der Titel ,,θεός'' dort natürlich in Fortfall kommt. Aber da ,,νομοθέτης'' und ,,προστάτης'' [3]) so in urchristlichen Schriften nicht belegt sind, andererseits aber hellenistische Kulttitel sind, wird man für die gesamte Ämter- und Titelaufzählung eine Übertragung des im Hellenismus Üblichen auf urchristliche Verhältnisse anzunehmen haben. Lukian wusste eben nur, dass Peregrinus bei den Christen eine führende Rolle spielte.

Historisch zutreffend wird die Gefängnishaft des Peregrinus sein, die er seines christlichen Bekenntnisses wegen zu erleiden hatte. Lukian hat auch richtig gesehen, dass ihm seine Gefängnishaft grosse Geltung bei den Christen verschaffte [4]). Dass die Christen alle Hebel in Bewegung setzten, um Peregrinus aus seiner Haft zu befreien, dass sie dann, als dies nicht möglich war, seine Haft zu erleichtern suchten, steht durchaus im Einklang mit urchristlichem Verhalten. Schon die Bemerkung Lukians, dass die ,,θεραπεία πᾶσα οὐ παρέργως, ἀλλὰ σὺν σπουδῇ ἐγίγνετο'', trifft ein Thema urchristlicher Paränese [5]). Noch näher aber kommt die Art und Weise solcher ,,θεραπεία'' an die urchristliche Praxis heran: ,,καὶ ἕωθεν μὲν εὐθὺς ἦν ὁρᾶν παρὰ τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ περιμένοντα γρᾴδια, χήρας τινὰς καὶ παιδία ὀρφανά, οἱ δὲ ἐν τέλει αὐτῶν καὶ συνεκάθευδον ἔνδον μετ' αὐτοῦ διαφθείροντες τοὺς δεσμοφύλακας'' [6]).

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[1]) Vgl. Poland, *Pauly-Wissowa*, 2. Reihe Bd 4, 1932, Sp. 1316 ff.

[2]) Die Belege zu "θεός" in meiner Diss., S. 86, Anm. 11. Vgl. Hebr. xiii 1 und G. Staehlin, Art. "ξένος" *ThW* V, S. 21 f.

[3]) Vgl. W. Bauer s.v.

[4]) cap. 12. Vgl. Hebr. x 34; I Clem 59, 4; Ign Smyrn 6 und A. von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, 4. Aufl. Bd I, 1924, S. 187 ff.; H. von Campenhausen, *Die Idee des Martyriums in der alten Kirche*, Göttingen, 1936; H. W. Surkau, *Martyrien in jüdischer und christlicher Sicht*, Göttingen, 1938.

[5]) Rm xii 8, 11; 2 Kor vii 11 f.; viii 7, 8, 16; Hebr. vi 11; 2 Petr i 5; Jud 3; Ep Diogn 12, 1.

[6]) cap. 12; vgl. A. von Harnack, *Mission*, Bd I, S. 184 ff.

Ob das „διαφθείρεειν" bloss als Bestechung [1]) gemeint ist oder ob es in der Richtung Act xvi 29 ff. ging [2]), ist aus Lukians Worten nicht zu entnehmen. Zutreffend ist die Tätigkeit der christlichen Witwen geschildert, wie ein Vergleich mit I Tim 5 lehrt. Auch dass Agapen und Gottesdienste im Gefängnis stattfanden, beruht auf guter Kenntnis: „εἶτα δεῖπνα ποικίλα εἰσεκομίζετο [3]) καὶ λόγοι ἱεροὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέγοντο . . ." [4]). Diese Gefängnishaft brachte dem Peregrinus den Titel „καινὸς Σωκράτης" ein [5]) und ausserdem ein nicht geringes Einkommen: „καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ Περεγρίνῳ πολλὰ τότε ἧκε χρήματα παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ προφάσει τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ πρόσοδον οὐ μικρὰν ταύτην ἐποιήσατο" [6]).

Wie sehr die Gemeinden in Gefahr standen, auf Betrüger hereinzufallen, wissen wir aus den Briefen des Paulus [7]) und aus den Anweisungen der Didache [8]). Lukian teilt uns zu diesem Punkte seine Meinung genauer mit: ein geschickter Gauner könne sie in kurzer Zeit um ihre Habe bringen: „ἢν τοίνυν παρέλθῃ τις εἰς αὐτοὺς γόης καὶ τεχνίτης ἄνθρωπος καὶ πράγμασι χρῆσθαι δυνάμενος, αὐτίκα μάλα πλούσιος ἐν βραχεῖ ἐγένετο ἰδιώταις ἀνθρώποις ἐγχανών".

Solch ein Betrug sei auch dem Peregrinus gelungen; sogar Hilfsgesandtschaften seien aus den Städten Kleinasiens gekommen: „καὶ μὴν κἀκ τῶν ἐν 'Ασίᾳ πόλεων ἐστὶν ὧν ἧκόν τινες, τῶν Χριστιανῶν στελλόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, βοηθήσοντες καὶ ξυναγορεύσοντες καὶ παραμυθησόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα" [9]).

Die Hilfsbereitschaft der Christen kenne da keine Grenzen:

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[1]) Vgl. Act xxvii 3. 43; xxviii 16 und das Motiv der wunderbaren Befreiung Act v 18 ff.; xii 4 ff.; xvi 23 ff.

[2]) Vgl. A. von HARNACK, S. 188, Anm. 2.

[3]) Vgl. Act xvi 34.

[4]) Vgl. Act v 41 f.; xvi 25.

[5]) Vgl. A. HARNACK, *Sokrates und die alte Kirche* (in: *Reden und Aufsätze*, Bd I, 1904, S. 27 ff.), wo darauf hingewiesen ist, dass die Gestalt des Sokrates seit den Apologeten in der Kirche eine grosse Rolle spielt. S. weiter E. BENZ, *Christus und Sokrates in der alten Kirche* (*ZNW* 43, 1950/51, S. 195 ff.); E. FASCHER, *Sokrates und Christus* (*ZNW* 45, 1954, S. 1 ff.); anders wollen P. de LABRIOLLE (S. 105) und C. CURTI (S. 102 f.) die Bezeichnung auf Lukian selbst zurückführen, jener als „une fausse note", dieser: „. . . è suggerita a Luciano dalla somiglianza del caso di Peregrino con quello di Socrate".

[6]) cap. 13.

[7]) 1 Kor iv 12; ix 12 ff. usw.; vgl. auch Act xviii 3; xx 34; 1 Tim vi 5.

[8]) Did 11 f.

[9]) Vgl. nur Act xi 29 f.; xii 25; xxiv 17; Rm xv 25 ff.; 1 Kor xvi 1;2 Kor viii f.; Gal ii 10 und A. von HARNACK, *Mission*, S. 204 ff.

,,ἀμήχανον δέ τι τὸ τάχος ἐπιδείκνυνται, ἐπειδάν τι τοιοῦτον γένηται δημόσιον· ἐν βραχεῖ γάρ, ἀφειδοῦσι πάντων''.

Natürlich zeigt sich in solchen Schilderungen nicht eine positive Würdigung der Christen. Vielmehr sind diese für Lukian nichts als ,,κακοδαίμονες'' und ,,ἰδιῶται ἄνθρωποι'', gegenüber denen höchstens ein gewisses Mitleid am Platze ist 1).

Freilich war es mit der Hilfsbereitschaft doch offenbar nicht so, dass sie blindlings erfolgte. Zwar wurde Peregrinus auch auf seinen Reisen von den Christen unterstützt 2), aber sie schlossen ihn doch kurzerhand aus ihrer Gemeinschaft aus, als er ertappt wurde, wie er sich gegen einen ihrer ,,νόμοι'' verging. Aus dem urchristlichen Schrifttum ist ja bekannt, dass die Gemeinde Massnahmen bereit hatte für den Fall, dass ihre Hilfsbereitschaft ausgenutzt werden sollte 3). Lukian meint, Peregrinus habe dank der Unterstützung ein Leben in Fülle geführt, aber diese seine Meinung dürfte eine der für ihn bezeichnenden Übertreibungen sein, obwohl andererseits die deutliche Begrenzung der Unterstützung in der Didache 4) auf dementsprechende Missbräuche schliessen lässt: ,,. . . πλανησόμενος, ἱκανὰ ἐφόδια, τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ἔχων, ὑφ' ὧν δορυφορούμενος ἐν ἅπασιν ἀφθόνοις ἦν'' 5). Die Aufkündigung ihrer Unterstützung erfolgte, als sie Peregrinus dabei ertappten, dass er von bei ihnen verbotenen Speisen genoss; allerdings ist sich Lukian dieser Begründung nicht sicher: ,,. . . παρανομήσας τι καὶ ἐς ἐκείνους — ὤφθη γάρ τι, ὡς οἶμαι, ἐσθίων τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτοῖς — οὐκέτι προσιεμένων αὐτῶν . . .'' 6).

Die Begründung kann gleichwohl richtig sein 7), obwohl andererseits die Übertragung einer Tabu-Vorschrift, wie sie in anderen Kulten üblich war, nicht auszuschliessen sein wird 8).

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1) Peregr. cap. 13.

2) Vgl. nur die Paulusreisen in den Act und die paränetisch gebotene "φιλοξενία" (Dazu G. STAEHLIN, *ThW*, Bd V, S. 19 ff.).

3) Vgl. 2 Joh 10 f.; 3 Joh 9 f.; Did 11 f.; Hermas mand 11.

4) Did 11 f.

5) Peregr. cap. 16.

6) cap. 16.

7) Vgl. Act x 9 ff.; xi 5 ff.; xv 20, 29; xvi 4; xxi 25; Rm xiv 1 ff.; 1. Kor viii 1 ff. und überhaupt H. STRATHMANN und P. KESELING, Art. *Askese* (*RAC* I, 1950, Sp. 749 ff.).

8) Vgl. F. CUMONT, *Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum*, 4. Aufl. 1959, S. 110. 143. 219 (Anm. 39). 262 (Anm. 52). Man kann deshalb auch nicht, wie G. BAGNANI (S. 111), die These aufstellen: ,,If he was, as his career would seem to indicate, an Essene Ebionite he will have strictly observed the Mosaic Law and its prohibition of pork, and the real reason for

Die so beschriebenen Verhaltensweisen der Christen leitet Lukian nun aus ihren Überzeugungen ab. Diese Überzeugungen gehen zurück auf Jesus, dessen Name aber nicht genannt wird, sondern von dem es heisst: „τὸν μέγαν [1]) γοῦν ἐκεῖνον ἔτι σέβουσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνασκολοπισθέντα, ὅτι καινὴν ταύτην τελετὴν εἰσήγαγεν ἐς τὸν βίον“. D.h. Jesus ist hier als Stifter einer der orientalischen Mysterien gesehen („τελετή“), als „θεῖος ἀνήρ“ [2]). Seine Lehre besteht in bestimmten „νόμοι“, die erlernt [3]) werden und nach denen die Anhänger leben: „τὸν δὲ ἀνεσκολοπισμένον ἐκεῖνον σοφιστὴν αὐτῶν προσκυνῶσι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνου νόμους βιῶσι“ [4]).

Demgegenüber muss festgestellt werden, dass die urchristliche Gemeinde bei aller Annäherung doch eine völlige Einordnung in die Mysterienfrömmigkeit vermied [5]). Vor allem die Betrachtung Jesu als eines Mysterienstifters steht am Rande des Interesses. Lukians Betrachtungsweise achtet also nicht auf Eigenheiten, sondern vergröbernd zeichnet er die Christen als Mysterienfromme. Allerdings beschreibt er nun doch nicht ein Kultmysterium als für sie typisch [6]), sondern die „νόμοι“ der Christen sind anderer Art.

Zunächst einmal sagen sie der hellenistischen Götterwelt ab: „. . . παραβάντες θεοὺς μὲν τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς ἀπαρνήσωνται“ [7]), um dann ihren „νομοθέτης“ zu verehren und nach seinen Vorschriften zu leben. Zu diesen „νόμοι“ gehört, dass sie untereinander alle Brüder sind: „. . . ὡς ἀδελφοὶ πάντες εἶεν ἀλλήλων“ — was in der Tat eine Grundüberzeugung des Urchristentums [8]), andererseits

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his conflict with orthodox Christianity will have been not on his partaking of forbidden food, but on his refusal to partake of lawful food, that is to say he was excommunicated as an Ebionite".

[1]) Vgl. W. GRUNDMANN, *ThW*, Bd IV, S. 544 ff.

[2]) Peregr. cap. 11. Er wird bezeichnet als "ὁ νομοθέτης ὁ πρῶτος" und als "σοφιστής"; ihm gegenüber wird das "σέβειν" (cap. 11) und das "προσκυνεῖν" (cap. 13) geübt. Vgl. L. BIELER, ΘΕΙΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ, Bd I, 1935, S. 130 ff. 134 ff.; auch meine Diss., S. 101, Anm. 4; 115, Anm. 6.

[3]) "ἐκμανθάνειν" cap. 11; vgl. Eph iv 20; Ign Philad 8, 2.

[4]) Vgl. M. CASTER, *Lucien*, S. 351.

[5]) "νομοθέτης" als Titel für Jesus ist nicht belegt; vgl. aber sachlich Rm vi 1 ff.; 1 Kor xi 23 ff.; Mk xiv 17 ff. Par; Joh xxi 9 ff. u.a.

[6]) Wie etwa für Alexander von Abonuteichos die von ihm eingerichteten Glykon-Mysterien typisch sind (Alex. cap. 38 ff.).

[7]) Peregr. cap. 13; vgl. Act xvii 29; xix 23 ff.; Rm i 23 u.a. und überhaupt A. HARNACK, *Der Vorwurf des Atheismus in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (*TU* N.F. Bd. xiii, 4. Heft, Abh. 1, 1905).

[8]) Cap. 13; vgl. H. von SODEN, Art "ἀδελφός" *ThW* I, S. 144 ff.

aber ein gemeinhellenistisches Ideal ist [1]). Weiterhin bemerkt Lukian: „καταφρονοῦσιν οὖν ἁπάντων ἐξ ἴσης καὶ κοινὰ ἡγοῦνται ἄνευ τινὸς ἀκριβοῦς πίστεως τὰ τοιαῦτα παραδεξάμενοι".

Hier werden einfach hellenistische Ideale auf das Urchristentum übertragen, d.h. Lukian kann die ihm bekannte Opferfreudigkeit der Christen nur von diesen ihm geläufigen Vorstellungen aus interpretieren. Das Opfern von Geld und Besitz wird in urchristlichem Verständnis zwar nicht mit dem „καταφρονεῖν" dieser Güter begründet wie im Hellenismus [2]), aber schon der Verfasser der Act interpretiert eben diese Opferfreudigkeit der Christen im Sinne des hellenistischen Ideals vom gemeinsamen Besitz: Act ii 44 f.; iv 32 [3]).

Aber nicht nur im Blick auf den Besitz sind die Christen nach der Ansicht Lukians „καταφρονηταί", sondern ebenso im Blick auf den Tod: „πεπείκασι γὰρ αὑτοὺς οἱ κακοδαίμονες τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἀθάνατον ἔσεσθαι καὶ βιώσεσθαι τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, παρ' ὃ καὶ καταφρονοῦσι τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ἑκόντες αὑτοὺς ἐπιδιδόασιν οἱ πολλοί" [4]).

Auch hier wird der urchristliche Auferstehungsglaube und die Bereitschaft zum Martyrium in hellenistischem Verständnis wiedergegeben [5]).

III

Aufs Ganze gesehen erheben sich nun die folgenden Fragen: Inwiefern ist das Bild, das Lukian vom Christentum zeichnet, historisch zutreffend? Welches Urteil hat er selbst über die Christen?

Sicherlich wird man sagen können, dass Lukian wesentliche Kennzeichen des Christentums seiner Zeit richtig erfasst hat. Durch seine Schilderungen hat er uns jedoch nicht ein photographisches Abbild hinterlassen, sondern er vermittelt uns einen Eindruck davon, wie sich das Urchristentum in den Augen eines Aussenstehenden der damaligen Zeit ausnahm, und zwar nicht eines aufmerksamen Beobachters, sondern eines Schriftstellers, der im wesentlichen das wiedergibt, was „man" damals von der neuen Religion wusste.

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[1]) S. auch die Schilderung der Essener bei Josephus (bell. Iud. II 122) und die Analyse bei H. Braun, *Spätjüdisch-häretischer und frühchristlicher Radikalismus* (*Beiträge zur hist. Theol.* 24), Bd I, 1957, S. 80 ff.

[2]) Nach Josephus sind die Essener "καταφρονηταὶ πλούτου"; vgl. H. Braun, S. 77 ff.

[3]) Belege dafür sind in meiner Dissertation zusammengestellt (S. 81, Anm. 7); vgl. auch E. Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1956, S. 194 ff.

[4]) Cap. 13.

[5]) Vgl. Josephus bell. Iud. II 151-153 und H. Braun S. 83 f. — Peregrinus selbst versteht (nach cap. 23) seine Tat der Selbstverbrennung ". . . ὡς διδάξειεν αὐτοὺς θανάτου καταφρονεῖν καὶ ἐγκαρτερεῖν τοῖς δεινοῖς . . .".

Vorwiegend handelt es sich um Verhaltensweisen, die Lukian zu berichten weiss; eine wenn auch noch so oberflächliche Kenntnis der urchristlichen Theologie hat er nicht. Aber auch bei den geschilderten Verhaltensweisen wird es sich kaum um eigene Erlebnisse und Entdeckungen handeln; höchstens mag sein Wissen durch eigene Erlebnisse, besonders im Zusammenhang mit der Person des Peregrinus, bestätigt worden sein. Vielleicht hatte er auch darüber irgendwelche schriftlichen Notizen vorliegen, die dann aber der gleichen Problematik unterliegen würden. An dieser Stelle macht C. Curti [1]) darauf aufmerksam, dass das, was Lukian über die Christen zu berichten weiss, im Grunde dürftig ist. Immerhin befänden wir uns im zweiten Jahrhundert, in dem das Christentum sich über die antike Welt bereits ausgebreitet habe und keine unbekannte Grösse mehr sein dürfte. Auffällig sei weiterhin, dass Lukian da, wo er auf die Christen eingeht, mit seiner Kritik und Ironie zurückhält, mit denen er sonst nie zu sparen pflegt, wenn er eine Gelegenheit dazu findet. Curti meint nun, Lukian habe das Christentum sehr wohl gekannt, aber er habe es schonen wollen, weil es ihm im Grunde sympathisch sei; vor allem sei ihm sicher die Ablehnung des hellenistischen Polytheismus durch die Christen sympathisch gewesen. „Il Samosatense non ha voluto ridere di quegli aspetti della nuova religione che facilmente si prestavano a una trasfigurazione umoristica, ha voluto risparmiare una religione nuova, che, pur con le sue superstizioni e le sue fantasie, gli sarà sembrata contenere principi degni di rispetto". Das solle nicht heissen, dass Lukian Christ gewesen sei, „ma solo che, a differenza degli scrittori pagani anteriori e contemporanei che fecero oggetto della loro attenzione la religione novella, egli non ebbe malanimo verso di essa e forse la guardò, almeno per alcuni aspetti, con simpatia . . ."

Sicher ist Curti mit seiner Feststellung im Recht, dass Lukians Kenntnis des Christentums dürftig ist, dürftiger vielleicht, als man es im zweiten Jahrhundert von einem solchen Manne erwarten sollte. Aber es ist in dieser Hinsicht nicht verschieden von dem, was er sonst über die religiösen Bewegungen seiner Zeit berichtet: auch da hat er keinen Blick für Eigenheiten, auch da reproduziert er traditionell gewordene Anschauungen, immer wieder bringt er Gemeinplätze als Argumente vor, ohne sich auch nur im entferntesten um ein eigenes Urteil zu bemühen [1]. Lukian ist eben alles andere als ein sorgfältiger Chronist [2]. Demgegenüber bilden die Nachrichten über die Christen sogar eine Ausnahme, was die Ausführlichkeit und Gründlichkeit angeht. Dazu muss man ihm zugute halten, dass die Christen nirgends Thema seiner Darstellung sind. Aus diesen Gründen ist denn auch die These von dem mit den Christen sympathisierenden Lukian unwahrscheinlich.

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[1]) S. 109.

Diese Kenntnisse Lukians, welchen Ursprunges sie sein mögen, sind nun aber in hellenistischer Interpretation wiedergegeben [3] und sind deshalb von uns nur kritisch verwertbar; erst dann stellen sich die Angaben Lukians in ihrer historischen Tatsächlichkeit heraus.

Allerdings verdanken wir die historische Verwertbarkeit der Angaben nur dem Umstande, dass Lukian die Christen bloss beiläufig erwähnt und an ihrer tendenziösen Darstellung kein Interesse hat. Ihm geht es lediglich um Alexander von Abonuteichos bzw. um Peregrinus Proteus; gerade im Blick auf den letzteren hat Lukian die Tendenz in einem Masse walten lassen, dass es nicht mehr möglich ist zu entscheiden, ob diese Tendenz überhaupt noch in einer Kontinuität steht zu dem historischen Peregrinus [4]. Was die Haltung Lukians betrifft, so kann kein Zweifel sein, dass er die Christen verachtet; hier ist M. CASTER [5] Recht zu geben: ,,Il est donc certain que Lucien méprise les Chrétiens en tant qu'adonnés à une religion. Ce méprise, exprimé dans *Pérégrinos*, est sous-entendu, nous l'avons vu, dans *Alexandre* écrit plus tard: les deux témoignages de Lucien concordent". Sicher hat er kein Verständnis für den Glauben der Christen, nicht einmal für ihre Absage an die Götterwelt, aber auch ihre Handlungsweise erfreut sich nur scheinbar seiner Zustimmung. Zwar scheinen ihre Verachtung des Todes und die gegenseitige brüderliche Hilfe und Gütergemeinschaft kritiklos dazustehen, aber es ist nicht zu bezweifeln, dass er diese Verachtung des Todes, die sich der ,,Unsterblichkeit" sicher ist, ablehnt wie auch ihren Geist der Bruderschaft für Naivität hält 1). ,,Avant et après ce passage . . . Lucien décrit, en traits fort vivants, l'activité charitable des Chrétiens, mais ce n'est pas pour faire l'éloge de ces doux exaltés. Témoignage involontaire, non pas hommage réfléchi" 2).

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[1] Vgl. meine Diss., S. 1 ff.

[2] Das gerade wird deutlich im Vergleich mit der dem Lukian untergeschobenen Schrift ,,De Syria Dea", die historisch genau sein will (zur Echtheitsfrage s. meine Diss., S. 2, Anm. 4); vgl. zur Geschichtsschreibung Lukians neuerdings G. AVENARIUS, *Lukians Schrift zur Geschichtschreibung*, Meisenheim/Glan, 1956.

[3] Nach derselben Methode verfahren aus apologetischen Gründen Josephus und Philo in ihren Essener-Referaten; vgl. H. BRAUN, S. 67 ff.

[4] So fallen die Urteile über ihn dementsprechend verschieden aus; vgl. J. BERNAYS, *Lukian und die Kyniker*, Berlin, 1879; K. von FRITZ in: *Pauly-Wissowa* 37. Halb bd. (1937), Sp. 656 ff.; D. R. DUDLEY, *A History of Cynism*, London, 1937, S. 170 ff.; M. CASTER, *Lucien*, S. 243 ff., 350 ff.; P. de LABRIOLLE, S. 100 ff.; C. CURTI, S. 92 ff.; G. BAGNANI, S. 107 ff.; K. PRÜMM, *Religionsgeschichtliches Handbuch für den Raum der altchristlichen Umwelt*, Rom, 1954, S. 460.

[5] *Lucien*, S. 352.

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1) Cap. 13: ". . . ἄνευ τινὸς ἀκριβοῦς πίστεως τὰ τοιαῦτα παραδεξάμενοι".
2) *Lucien,* S. 353.

REVIEWS

William Sanford Lasor, *Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls, 1948-1957*; Fuller Theological Seminary Bibliographical Series, Number 2; Fuller Library Bulletin, Number 31, Fall 1958; issued by The Library, Fuller Theological Seminary, 135N. Oakland, Pasadena, California. Price $ 3.50.

I still have a vivid recollection of a meeting I attended in 1950, where a paper on the Dead Sea Scrolls was read. The speaker said that he thought he had read just about everything that had been written on the subject. I was not able to verify that statement then, and neither am I now able to check whether everything published on the Scrolls prior to autumn 1958 has been included in William Sanford Lasor's ninety-two page bibliography. However, one thing is certain, in 1950 a person was not necessarily boasting when he maintained he had kept up with all the publications concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls. But times have changed. Only those devoting all their attention to the subject can claim that they at least know the titles of all the publications that have appeared on the subject. Whether they would do this is another matter.

There are, however, many scholars who, while they are not able to spend all their time on this section of biblical studies, cannot afford to ignore the problems that have arisen during the last few years owing to the discovery of the manuscripts near the Dead Sea. Among the many others are the New Testament scholars. Whatever part of the New Testament is being examined, the question will always arise as to whether there is anything in the Qumran texts that would throw light on the problem in hand. For such work Lasor's book will be extremely valuable, while it is by no means out of the question that Qumran specialists will also find things in it that they did not already know.

To give an impression of the book's usefulness I am including here an abridged table of contents:

I. *General Works*: Announcements and General Articles, 1948-1957; Books, General; Date and Authenticity; Archaeology; Palaeography and Date of QL; Deposits in Jars; Cloth from the Caves; Carbon Dating and other Scientific Techniques; Zeitliniana.

II. *The texts of Qumran*: The work of Editing; Editions of Texts (Inclusive); Concordances; Isaiah; Habakkuk Commentary; Manual of Discipline; Thanksgiving Hymns; The War Scroll; Genesis Apocryphon; Fragments from rsp. 1Q, 2Q, 3Q (the Copper Scroll), 4Q, 6Q, Murabba'at, Mird, Unknown Sources; Cairo "Damascus Document"; Textual Criticism of QL; the Language of QL; Word Studies.

III. *Interpretation of the Qumran Literature*: Name and Location of Qumran; History of Qumran; Qumran and: Judaism, Essenes; Sadducees, Iranian Religion, Gnosticism, Dualism, the Ebionites; The Qumran Community; Organization of the Qumran Community; Qumran Religion; the Cultus of Qumran; Qumran Religion and: Baptism, the Calendar, Eschatology; Qumran Literature and: the Bible, Old Testament Criticism, Old Testament Interpretation, Extra-Canonical Writings; Qumran and: Christian Origins, John the Baptist, Jesus, Christianity, the New Testament, Matthew, Pauline Writings, Johannine Writings, Other Parts of the New Testament; Messiah in Qumran Literature; The Teacher of Righteousness; Bibliographies of Qumraniana.

Under these divisions and sub-divisions LASOR has accounted for 3,982 publications. A list of sixty-nine special subjects has also been appended, as the sub-divisions do not, of course, cover the entire range of subjects that arise in connexion with the Dead Sea Scrolls. In addition, there is also an eight page index of the writers who have directed their attention to the Qumran and related matters. From the four page list of abbreviations of names of periodicals it appears that our magazine is referred to as NT.

One can only be grateful for the amount of care LASOR has taken with this book. He has not brought us any closer to solving any of the many problems surrounding the Dead Sea Scrolls, but what he has done is even more important. He has given everyone who encounters these problems the opportunity of becoming fully informed before passing an opinion. For this he deserves our whole-hearted thanks.

Finally I should like to say this. Anyone who reads in a review of one of his publications the criticism that he is not sufficiently at home in the Qumran literature, only has himself to blame. LASOR's bibliography could have been his guide. Yet the selfsame book can also provide him with an excuse. Who is able to devote himself to a study of the New Testament and at the same time have command of 3,982 publications on a related field of scholarship? With the publication of this bibliography WILLIAM SANFORD LASOR has placed himself in the position of both counsel for the defence and for the prosecution. Only those who make good use of his book may call upon him to intercede for them.

D.

Bibliographia Patristica, Internationale Patristische Bibliographie, herausgegeben von W. SCHNEEMELCHER, Bonn. I. Die Erscheinungen des Jahres 1956. Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin W 35, 1959.

The plan to publish a *Bibliographia Patristica*, the first volume of which has now appeared, was evolved at the Second International Conference on Patristic Studies in Oxford in September 1955. Those who assisted in the compiling of this bibliography were: K. ALAND, Münster; H. D. ALTENDORF, Tübingen; L. BIELER, Dublin; F. L. CROSS, Oxford; J. DANIÉLOU, Paris; E. DEKKERS, Steenbrugge; G. GARITTE, Louvain; J. N. D. KELLY, Oxford; G. KRETSCHMAR, Hamburg; B. M. METZGER, Princeton; M. PELLEGRINO, Torino; A. PINCHERLE, Rome; H. RIESENFELD, Uppsala; M. A. SIOTIS, Thessaloniki; W. C. VAN UNNIK, Utrecht; J VIVES, Barcelona.

It is obvious that Patristics begin where New Testament studies end; it is, however, more difficult to determine the *terminus ad quem*. For the East the Second Nicene Council (787) has been taken as the final date, and for the West the death of ILDEFONSE, archbishop of Toledo (669). A twenty page list of abbreviations is followed by the ninety-two page bibliography, the contents of which are divided into eight chapters: I. Generalia; II. Novum Testamentum atque Apocrypha (quoad textum eiusque traditionem et criticam); III. Auctores (editiones, quaestiones, dissertationes, commentarii); IV. Cultus; V. Iuridica, symbola; VI. Doctrina auctorum et historia dogmatum; VII Patrum Exegesis Veteris et Novi Testamenti; VIII. Recensiones; Register.

The third chapter "Auctores" is of course the most extensive. The usefulness of this bibliography has been greatly increased by reference whenever possible in other chapters to the contents of this chapter. Chapter four, "Cultus", deals with martyrology, hagiography and liturgic.

In his introduction SCHNEEMELCHER remarks that the compilers are aware that this work is not perfect. It may be assumed that this remark is meant to be more than a customary show of modesty. However, when one sees how much has been included in this bibliography covering the period of one year, one cannot but be grateful for the work he and his collaborators have done. Of course a bibliography should strive towards as high a degree of perfection as possible. But even if this has not yet quite achieved, the first impression this work makes is that scholars interested in Patristics will be greatly benefited by this extremely valuable guide to the publications that appeared in 1956, and that it will not be so very easy to detect imperfections, unless one has perhaps done extremely specialized study on some particular aspect of the subject. Should this nevertheless occur, the editors of the Bibliographia Patristica will call for the assistance of those who point out any shortcomings. And quite rightly so too, for it is only by team-work that a task of this nature, which is of concern to every New Testament scholar and every church historian, can be completed satisfactorily.

The volume covering 1957 will soon be going to press, while the one covering 1958 is to be published in the autumn of 1959.

D.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE GREEK VARIANTS OF CODEX BEZAE

BY

JAMES D. YODER

As a member of the Western type of text—indeed, its major representative —Codex Bezae (D) has been the object of countless hours of study for the sake of discovering its textual affinities [1]. Scholars have scrutinized it for evidence as regards its linguistic associations also. In all previous investigation, however, no one has undertaken a comprehensive analysis of the Greek text for the sake of determining its precise linguistic character [2].

Many scholars have echoed the dictum of WESTCOTT and HORT, that "knowledge of documents should precede final judgment upon readings" [3]. With respect to Codex Bezae, however, such knowledge appears to have been based all too often upon only a limited selection of stylistic and textual features of the manuscript. Since it has been the practice of scholars generally to treat the manuscript as a homogeneous entity (consisting of the Gospels and Acts), the idiosyncrasies of one portion of the manuscript have often been allowed to represent the whole. Only a comprehensive and definitive examination of all of the distinctive features of Codex Bezae will enable one to appreciate the individualities of the entire codex and to describe it with a higher degree of accuracy than has been possible heretofore. It is the purpose of this paper to present a brief digest of some of the salient features of such an examination [1].

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[1] The organization of the Bezan Club alone testifies to the fascination which this manuscript has held for textual critics. For a comprehensive summary of the literature on the Western text see the monograph by A. F. J. KLIJN, *A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts* (Utrecht: Drukkerij v. h. Kemink en Zoon N.V., 1949). In this treatise there are 377 bibliographical entries ranging from VON SODEN's voluminous study to brief articles in periodicals. One should also consult KLIJN's article by the same title in *Novum Testamentum*, III (1959), pp. 1-27, 161-173 in which he has brought his monograph up to date.

[2] Although HERMANN VON SODEN assembled an enormous amount of details of the Bezan variants, his analysis with respect to the linguistic features of Codex Bezae is far too generalized to be of special usefulness to the grammarian.

[3] B. F. WESTCOTT and F. J. A. HORT, *The New Testament in the Original Greek, Introduction and Appendix* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1882), p. 31.

The first step in making such an examination required the isolation of the distinctive text of Codex Bezae. For various reasons it was decided to choose as a collating base the Westcott and Hort text [2]. The present writer, accordingly, made a collation *de novo*, using F. H. Scrivener's transcription of the manuscript [3]. The second step was an inductive classification of the data of collation on the basis of the nature of the many variants, whether orthographical, morphological, or syntactical. With the material arranged in this orderly manner it became possible to observe certain tendencies and to describe the variants in the aggregate both grammatically and lexically [4]. It remained as the third step to compare the grammar of the Bezan variants with that of other types or periods of Greek literature.

So diverse are the grammatical phenomena in the variants that a listing of them forms a veritable table of contents of a Greek grammar. Under orthography, for instance, one meets itacism, metathesis of vowels and consonants, elision, crasis, contraction, paragogic nu, and other orthographical data. It is true that variation between the texts is conditioned in part by the judgment of Westcott and Hort in the choice of the particular orthography which they used [1], but the repeated occurrence of these variations lends a character to Codex Bezae all its own. It is not too sweeping a statement to say that the clear majority of the orthographical features of the variants have their counterpart in the koine Greek of the Graeco-Roman period.

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[1] This paper forms an abstract of the author's doctoral dissertation entitled *The Language of the Greek Variants of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis*, 1958, which is on deposit in the library of Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey.

[2] Apart from the text problem there was a practical consideration in the choice of the Westcott-Hort text: a concordance of the distinctive Bezan text which appears as Appendix B in the writer's dissertation may serve as a supplement to the standard concordances of the Greek text, which are based primarily upon the Westcott-Hort text.

[3] F. H. Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell. and Co., 1864). Before the collation was made Scrivener's accuracy was checked by a comparison of his transcription with the published photographic facsimile of the manuscript, *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, Phototypice Repraesentatus* (London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1919). The following corrections were noted (Scrivener's reading appears first):

Mt. xv 37 ηραν-σφυριδας] ηραν Z σφυρ̣ιδας
Mt. xvi 26 κερδη] κερδηση
Jn. viii 39 ημω] ημω̄
Jn. x 25 ποιω] ποιωι or ποιων
Lk. vii 27 τον (2)] την
Lk. x 6 ιος] υιος
Lk. xv 7 ουχ] ουκ
Mk. ix 47 γεεννᾱ] γεενᾱ
Mk. xvi 6 η φοβεισθαι] μη φοβεισθαι

[4] In 1960 E. J. Brill of Leiden will publish *A Concordance of the Distinctive Text of Codex Bezae*, which was prepared by the present writer.

In illustration of this statement certain data may be submitted. Every vowel of the Greek language is found to be involved in mutation. Of great frequency is the substitution of the diphthong ει for ι. It occurs on an average of three and one-half times per page [2], one-third of which instances are in Matthew. The reverse mutation, ι for ει, occurs approximately once for every two pages, rather evenly distributed throughout the codex. Next in frequency, and also fairly common, is the mutation ε to αι. Concentrated in Matthew, the frequency of occurrence is almost one per page, while the reverse mutation, αι to ε, averages one instance in every three pages. The comparative frequency of these two itacistic mutations reflects an advanced stage of development in the Egyptian Koine [3].

No other type of substitution of vowels (e.g. α and ε, ε and η, ει and ε, οι and υ, ο and ω) exceeds a dozen occurrences. Nevertheless, nearly all of the types of mutations of vowels are features of the koine of the Roman period. Noteworthy for its extreme infrequency is the ι-η mutation, so common in the Byzantine period.

When one consonant is substituted for another, with few exceptions the exchange occurs within the same articulation group. Although the instances in each type are comparatively few, the largest number occurs in the gutturals and dentals. This is signiicfant, for the interchange of τ and δ, also κ and γ, is characteristic of Egypt. Moreover, manuscripts of the Septuagint have corresponding mutations. The few mutations involving sibilants also have parallels in the Septuagunt and the papyri.

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[1] In their *Introduction, op. cit.*, p. 303, Westcott and Hort write, "We have . . . thought it best to aim at approximating as nearly as we could to the spelling of the autographs by means of documentary evidence; with the qualifications that we have acquiesced in the common orthography in two or three points, not perhaps free from doubt, in which the better attested forms would by their prominence cause excessive strangeness in a popular text".

[2] The number of pages occupied by the several books of the manuscript is as follows: Matthew 91, John 62, Luke 103, Mark 63, and Acts 86. The reader should know, too, that there are long lacunae in Matthew, John and Acts.

[3] H. St. J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: University Press, 1909), p. 77.

In the area of accidence and morphology, variation in the declension of nouns is infrequent. The most interesting feature of this category involves the metaplastic writing of the third declension accusative singular in -αν. One may observe that the limited frequency with which this phenomenon occurs in D corresponds with the popularity of this particular metaplasm in the first Christian century [1]). The greatest amount of variation in accidence occurs with verbs. Fluctuation appears in augment (initial diphthong), verb stems (sigmatic stems), as well as in personal endings (ἐλέγοσαν). In each area, however, the Bezan form exhibits generally an affinity with the Septuagint and the pre-Christian papyri. Although Hellenistic Greek shows a fondness for compound verbs, Codex Bezae as a whole deviates so slightly from the Westcott and Hort text with respect to the number of compound verbs that there is virtually no difference between the two texts among the several books of the manuscript [2]).

It is in the area of syntax that the vast majority of variations occurs. These run the whole gamut of inflection of substantives and verbs in syntactical correspondence. Mutation in concord is found primarily among collective words and subjects. The slight tendency to write the verb in the plural for a neuter plural subject is entirely consistent with the koine departure from Classical Greek practice. It should be pointed out, too, that the preference for the first and second person of the verb lends a more personal and active touch to the Bezan account.

As one would have expected, variation in the inflection of nouns occurs where there are two ways of expressing the same thought, such as the genitive of possession and the dative of possession. The largest amount of fluctuation in substantive inflection appears where the noun is governed by a verb or the preposition ἐπί, and here the preference is for the accusative case. Needless to say, this trend toward the accusative is a feature of the Greek language which found its inception in the Hellenistic period and its completion in the modern period.

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[1]) J. Psichari, *Essai sur le Grec de la Septante* (Paris: Libraire C. Klincksieck, 1908), pp. 168 ff.

[2]) Oddly enough Westcott and Hort submit as a patent peculiarty of the manuscript the habit of substitution of compound verbs for simple verbs, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

The increased use of prepositions likewise begins in the Hellenistic period. It is apparent, however, that there is no tendency to increase the use of prepositions in the Codex generally, but in Mark there are nearly three times as many additions of prepositions as omissions. The substitution of one preposition for another is also typically koine. While such substitutions are quite frequent in the manuscript, there is no decided inclination to employ or eliminate any particular preposition.

Since the frequency of the article serves as an index to the degree of refinement of the piece of writing, one may reasonably seek here a clue to the stratum of the Bezan variants [1]). The higher the type of Greek, the less frequent is the use of the article; the nearer the subject matter and style are to the vernacular, the more frequently does the article appear [2]). By actual count, there is a parsimonious use of the article in D; in fact, this situation obtains in each book except Luke.

As the D text resembles the WESTCOTT-HORT text in the use of the article, so there is little deviation in the manner in which the several types of pronouns are used. To be sure, there are voluminous additions and omissions of personal, relative, and demonstrative pronouns; and if D exhibits any tendency at all, it lies in the increased use of the personal pronoun.

With respect to the mutation of the tense of the verb, across the entire codex the tense of the verb changes at a frequency of two instances per three pages. Matthew and Acts have fewer than the average, while John and Mark have more than the average. The specific tenses involved, however, vary according to the style of the individual Biblical writer. A collective computation discloses the fact that the imperfect and future recede in relative frequency, and the present tense advances appreciably. More specifically, the participle is written more often in the present tense, while the infinitive and subjunctive forms of the verb appear more often in the aorist tense.

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[1]) ROBERTSON observes that "The older language and higher poetry are more anarthrous than Attic prose.... Plato is richer in the article than any one"; *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (New York: Doran Co., 1923), p. 756.

[2]) According to JANNARIS, *An Historical Greek Grammar* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1897), p. 318, this proportion applies both in the classical and post-classical periods.

Mutation in the mood of the verb in general tends towards analysis or a paratactic style. The chief contributor to this situation is the substitution of an indicative form for a participial form of the verb where two verbs are hypotactically related. A most interesting sidelight of this mutation is the failure to eliminate καί when a finite verb is changed to a participle.

With respect to conjunctions, one finds a rather free interchange of them, with Luke showing a preference for δέ and Acts for καί. Transposition of word order is quite common in the Bezan variants. Where nouns, pronouns, and adjectives are involved, a Semitic order is often presented, but with verbs the usual Greek order is dominant [1]).

While occasionally the Bezan variant agrees with Classical Greek idiom, for the most part it accords with the koine both at large and particularly in the Septuagint. The free interchange of prepositions and conjunctions, for example, along with such other features as parataxis and analysis, points strongly to the spoken vernacular in contrast with the literary koine. One must hasten to add, however, that with many of the syntactical phenomena, the frequency of occurrence is greater in one Biblical book than in another.

This word of caution leads to the second major consideration in the description of Codex Bezae; namely, the lack of homogeneity in the manuscript. In many types of mutation Matthew and John (the first two books of the codex) differ sharply from the latter three books, Luke, Mark, and Acts. One might have expected John to deviate owing to its individuality among the Gospels, but it is surprising that this is also true of Matthew, since so much of the material in this Gospel is parallel to Luke. Although the latter three books each have a relatively high frequency in variation, in at least one syntactical feature there is agreement throughout, namely in the omission of complementary pronouns after verbs other than those of speaking; in another, namely the addition of nouns, Mark and Acts agree in frequency against Luke; in another, the mutation of mood, Luke and Mark agree against Acts.

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[1]) J. D. Yoder, "Semitisms of Codex Bezae", *Journal of Biblical Literature* LXXVIII, 1959.

Besides this general grouping of books, the evidence tends to a partitioning within a particular book. For example, in many grammatical features the frequency of occurrence in the latter part of Acts, approximately from chapter 12, varies appreciably in comparison with the first part of the book. Some of these features are the use of the article before proper names, the mutation in tense, the transition from a participial construction to the indicative, and the employment or omission of τέ and καί.

Again, the concentration of a particular phenomenon within a chapter or two points to the possibility that such pericopes had a previous independent existence. One is impressed, for instance, with the fact that Paul's speech in Acts xvii has relatively fewer variations than its surrounding text. To use another illustration, the monotonous addition of ὁ Ἰησοῦς as the subject in almost every sentence of Mark vi 31-39 is striking. Then, too, it is most curious that Luke xxi should be as an island amid the welter of substitutions of δέ and καί throughout the Passion narrative. Furthermore, within Luke-Acts there exist a number of antithetic tendencies, such as writing πρὸς αὐτόν after a verb of saying in Acts, but in Luke the employment of the dative αὐτῷ in the same situation. These features and similar phenomena of the codex forbid one from speaking of it in generalized terms, and suggest that one ought rather to single out the several books for individual characterization.

Within the several books idiosyncrasies also appear. The book of Acts, for example, which is almost unparalleled in its use of the participle, seems to lean toward the independent use of the participle, either by the addition of καί after a participle, or by changing one of two finite verbs joined by καί to a participle and allowing the conjunction to remain. In John, to take another illustration, there is a slight increase in the use of the perfect tense, the conjunction οὖν, and the demonstrative pronoun. These are peculiarities of the Johannine style which, in Codex Bezae, are enhanced. Moreover, there is no proportionate increase in these elements in the other books. One may conclude, therefore, that the modifications in the text were not made promiscuously. Whether, on the other hand, the text should be regarded as the result of intentional rewriting is problematic.

Finally, although the circumstance of harmonization involves textual considerations and not grammatical ones, yet because the label "harmonistic" is regularly attached to the manuscript, a word on this phase is in order. How far are the idiosyncrasis of Codex Bezae due to editorial work in harmonizing divergent Synoptic accounts? As a whole, the sheer abundance of variations of all types tends to lower the percentage of possible harmonizations, since large segments of the text do not have Synoptic parallels. If, however, one considers only those sections where Synoptic parallels exist, one observes that only one-fourth of the variations have identical readings in one or both of the other Gospels of the Neutral text. It may be that even some of these seeming "harmonizations" are purely accidental, since the same influence which effected agreement is at work throughout the codex. This is not to deny harmonization altogether, but to suggest that the view of HORT, VON SODEN, and VOGELS, to the effect that harmonization is to be regarded as a primary characteristic of the manuscript, must be modified.

In conclusion, on the basis of a comprehensive examination of the distinctive Greek text of Codex Bezae, it may be affirmed that in orthography, morphology, and syntax, the language of the variants agrees with the vernacular Greek of the early Christian centuries. In some respects it may be reminiscent of the Septuagint. While this is true about the variants in general, each Biblical book or portion thereof exhibits certain peculiarities of its own. The wisdom of COLWELL's admonition is borne out by this study where he writes, "Study simultaneously both variants and Text-types"; and "Study text types in the New Testament book by book or section by section" ¹).

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¹) E. C. COLWELL, "The Significance of Grouping New Testament Manuscripts", *New Testament Studies*, IV, 1958, pp. 87, 89.

THE LUKAN VERSION OF THE TRIAL OF JESUS

BY

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In an examination of the synoptic account of Jesus' trial, it is immediately obvious that there was no Q source for this narrative. That is to say that there is no significant point at which Matthew and Luke agree against Mark. Matthew includes three passages peculiar to that Gospel: the story of the death of Judas in xxvii 3-10; the warning of Pilate's wife in xxvii 19; and the detail about Pilate's washing his hands in xxvii 24-25. In Luke there are two important variations: the hearing before the Sanhedrin takes place in the morning, not at night; and a hearing before Herod, xxiii 6-16, is added.

Secondly, it is notable that Matthew is far more dependent on Mark than is Luke. This can most clearly be seen by placing the various sections of the trial narrative in parallel columns.

Matthew	*Mark*	*Luke*
Betrayal of Judas	Betrayal of Judas	Betrayal of Judas
Injury of the high priest's servant	Injury of the high priest's servant	Injury of the high priest's servant
		Healing of the high priest's servant
Are you come as against a robber?	Are you come as against a robber?	Are you come as against a robber?
This is to fulfill the Scriptures	This is to fulfill the Scriptures	
To Caiaphas the high priest	To the high priest	To the high priest
Peter follows	Peter follows	Peter follows
Sanhedrin seeks false witnesses	Sanhedrin seeks witnesses	
Testimony by two witnesses that Jesus said he would destroy and rebuild the temple	Testimony that Jesus said he would destroy and rebuild the temple	
Jesus does not defend himself	Jesus does not defend himself	
High priest calls for Jesus' confession	High priest calls for Jesus' confession	

Matthew	*Mark*	*Luke*
Jesus' answer	Jesus' answer	
Condemnation of blasphemy	Condemnation of blasphemy	
Abuse of Jesus	Abuse of Jesus	
Peter's denial	Peter's denial	Peter's denial
		Abuse of Jesus
		Sanhedrin meets in the morning
		Sanhedrin asks for a confession
		Jesus' answer, more vague than in Mark and Matthew
		Decision
Sanhedrin reconvenes in the morning	Sanhedrin reconvenes in the morning	
Jesus sent to Pilate	Jesus sent to Pilate	Jesus sent to Pilate
The death of Judas		
		Accusation of Jesus
Pilate: Are you King of the Jews?	Pilate: Are you King of the Jews?	Pilate: Are you King of the Jews?
Jesus: Thou sayest	Jesus: Thou sayest	Jesus: Thou sayest
Pilate calls for Jesus' defense	Pilate calls for Jesus' defense	
	Jesus is silent	
		Pilate finds no fault
		Pilate sends Jesus to Herod
		Herod questions Jesus
		Herod returns Jesus to Pilate
		Pilate re-affirms Jesus' innocence
The custom of Passover amnesty	The custom of Passover amnesty	
Pilate's wife		
Crowd calls for release of Barabbas	Crowd calls for release of Barabbas	Crowd calls for release of Barabbas
Crowd demands crucifixion for Jesus	Crowd demands crucifixion for Jesus	Crowd demands crucifixion for Jesus
Pilate washes his hands		
Release of Barabbas	Release of Barabbas	Release of Barabbas
Pilate orders crucifixion of Jesus	Pilate orders crucifixion of Jesus	Pilate orders crucifixion of Jesus

This chart shows that Matthew and Luke do not agree against Mark on a single incident in the whole procedure. It also makes it evident that Matthew is following Mark in almost minute detail. Matthew only inserts three incidents: the death of Judas, Pilate's wife, and Pilate's washing his hands. He does this without transposing anything in Mark's order. Matthew leaves out nothing he found in Mark, and his three insertions breathe so definitely of the legendary that we can quickly dismiss the possibility that Matthew is using a written source independent of Mark.

Luke, however, uses Mark with a great deal less care. He treats the Markan source with great freedom. In actual fact there is as much divergency from Mark as there is agreement with Mark. This leads one to believe that Luke had a separate account of the trial, an account which he considered at many points superior to that of Mark. Luke certainly used Mark, for the verbal agreement is exact in one or two verses. Luke xxiii 3, for example, is identical to Mark xv 2.

By quite a different process, Alfred M. PERRY [1]) came to this conclusion as regards the entire passion narrative from Luke xix 1-xxiv 53. In this narrative he delineates a source which formed the groundwork for the whole narrative. This source, peculiar to Luke, accounts for 165 1/2 out of 313 verses in the narrative. The source (J) is, according to PERRY, a Jewish-Christian work, probably coming out of the Jerusalem Church about 45 A.D. It is quite independent of Luke, Matthew, Mark, and Q. It has its own type of vocabulary, a characteristic literary style, thought, and viewpoint. PERRY ascribes to the source a very high historical value.

About the trial, PERRY says, "Divergencies are so great that it is inconceivable that Luke did not have some other authority for the correction of the Markan account, and at nearly every point of the legal process" [2]). In the trial narrative he finds that twenty-eight out of the thirty-two verses are from Luke's special source, J.

PERRY's argument is quite convincing, and we would go one step further and maintain that there are only two sources for the synoptic account of the trial: Mark and L (or J). There was no Q source for the trial; Matthew followed Mark, inserting some peculiar material; but Luke followed a quite separate tradition, using Mark only where necessary.

Assuming that Luke's account depends only in part on Mark, would it be possible to delineate the other source behind Luke, which we will call L for convenience? The Lukan narrative after the confession of Peter (*i.e.*, xxii 66-xxiii 25) naturally divides itself into five parts, discounting the editorial material in xxiii 1, 3-5.

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[1]) *The Sources of Luke's Passion-Narrative*, Chicago 1920.

[2]) *Ibid.*, p. 44.

A. xxii 66-71
B. xxiii 2
C. xxiii 6-12
D. xxiii 13-16
E. xxiii 18-25

Part E is taken over by Luke from Mark, although Luke, according to most manuscripts, omits the reference to the annual Passover amnesty.

Part D is an editorial section, necessary for joining C and E.

The L source is discernible, then, in A, B, and C. Bracketing those portions which may be Luke's theological contribution, the source may have gone something like this:

> A. When day came, the assembly of the elders of the people gathered together, both chief priests and scribes; and they led him away to their council, and they said, "If you are the Christ, tell us." But he said to them, "If I tell you, you will not believe; and if I ask you, you will not answer. [But from now on the Son of man shall be seated at the right hand of the power of God." And they all said, "Are you the Son of God, then?" And he said to them, "You say that I am."] And they said, "What further testimony do we need? We have heard it ourselves from his own lips."
>
> B. And they began to accuse him saying, "We found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding us to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he himself is Christ a king."
>
> C. When Pilate heard this, he asked whether the man was a Galilean. And when he learned that he belonged to Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him over to Herod, who was himself in Jerusalem at that time. When Herod saw Jesus, he was very glad, for he had long desired to see him, and he was hoping to see some sign done by him. So he questioned him at some length; and he made no answer. The chief priests and the scribes stood by, vehemently accusing him. And Herod with his soldiers treated him with contempt and mocked him; then, arraying him in gorgeous apparel, he sent him back to Pilate. And Herod and Pilate became friends with each other that very day, for before this they had been at enmity with each other.

A. Luke xxii 66-71. The major difference between Mark and L at this point is that Mark has the Sanhedrin examine Jesus at length by night, whereas L presents a cursory examination of Jesus by this body in the morning. There seems to be no apologetic purpose in this. The only effect it would have would be to make the meeting of the Sanhedrin more legal. If the Mishnaic tradition held good at the time of Jesus, it was required that a capital case begin in the day and that the verdict be given in the daytime [1]. Even so, there is no good evidence that the Mishnaic regulations did, in fact, hold good for the time of Jesus. Moreover, if it was illegal to hold a trial or a hearing at night, it was likewise illegal to begin a case involving capital punishment on the eve of a Sabbath or festival, since a verdict of conviction cannot be given until the day following the conclusion of the testimony [2]. If illegal on the eve of a festival, then it certainly is illegal during a festival. Obviously, Luke is making no attempt to remove this kind of barrier to legality, for the Sanhedrin, according to this account, met on the first day of the Passover festival. The whole tenor of Luke, as well as of the other Gospels, is to place responsibility on the Jewish authorities. Placing the Sanhedrin meeting during the daytime would hardly support the apologetic purpose of Luke.

On the positive side, it is important ro recognize that even though it does not agree with Luke's apologetic purpose, almost all the objections to the legality of the Jewish trial actually do disappear if we consider the source of Luke by itself. The so-called Jewish trial of Jesus has always caused a great deal of concern on the part of scholars. Herbert DANBY has listed sixteen objections to this trial, drawing from the Mishnaic tradition and a composite account of the trial in all four Gospels. Twelve of these objections have no applicability to the Lukan account whatsoever. The remaining objections listed by DANBY are:

1. The court could not seek to make Jesus incriminate himself.
2. A capital charge may not be tried on the eve of a Sabbath or festival (Sanhedrin iv 1).
3. A verdict of conviction must not be reached on the same day or be given at night (Sanhedrin iv 1).
4. A unanimous verdict of guilty was null and void (Sanhedrin iv 1) [3].

DANBY himself has stated that objection number 1 about self-incrimination is not firmly established enough to be taken seriously. The other three are valid only if the morning session of the Sanhedrin was a legal trial.

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[1] Sanhedrin iv 1.

[2] Sanhedrin iv 1.

[3] Herbert DANBY, "The Bearing of the Rabbinical Criminal Code on the Jewish Trial Narratives in the Gospels," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXI (1920), pp. 54-55.

The fact is that L does not present this as a formal trial, but as a pre-trial hearing. The most natural reading of the L source indicates that the Sanhedrin is preparing a case for presentation to Pilate. The Sanhedrin is not judge, but prosecuting attorney. In L there are no witnesses; there is no condemnation. The legality and probability of this procedure is borne out by evidence found in the Oxyrynchus Papyri. All indications in the papyri are that the Roman government felt the strongest necessity for keeping criminal jurisdiction in the hands of the Romans themselves. Local officers of the subject states were entrusted only with the settlement of the most trivial cases, such as cases involving loans, contracts, and disturbance of the peace. All other matters in the Egyptian province were tried either by an official appointed directly by the Emperor or by this official's representative, the prefect. There are among the papyri fragments of cases which appear to be lawyers' briefs. These were filed with the native official, the strategos. The cases were probably prepared in advance by local officials for a hearing before the Governor on his next visit to the locality as he made his usual circuit through the province. The strategos would probably examine the evidence to determine whether a trial before the Governor was necessary or not [1]). Now, although we have no precise information about legal procedure in Judaea at this time, it is highly unlikely that the procedure would be widely different from what is found in Egypt.

This means that the Sanhedrin, having a position roughly equivalent to that of the Egyptian strategos and acting as prosecutor, held what in modern jurisprudence would be called a pre-trial hearing or a Grand Jury investigation. The purpose of this is to examine evidence against Jesus and to determine whether the evidence would warrant a trial before Pilate. The body would then draw up its case, its legal brief, against the accused. The case would be presented before the Procurator on his next visit to Jerusalem, which happened to be at Passover time.

Thus L seems to be presenting a pre-trial hearing in which the Sanhedrin, as prosecuting attorney, seeks to draw out a confession from Jesus by asking one or two questions: Are you the Christ? Are you the Son of God? To both questions Jesus gives an ambiguous answer. It is significant also that L portrays for us an examination before the Sanhedrin itself with the emphasis on the body and not on any individual, as the high priest in Mark, Caiaphas in Matthew, and Annas in John.

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[1]) *Cf.* A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar (eds.), *Select Papyri*, II, 172-225, The Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge 1934; and L. Metteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, I, II, Leipzig 1912.

B. Luke xxiii 2. In addition to this, Luke alone records a formal charge against Jesus. In Luke xxiii 2, a three-fold charge is presented from the Sanhedrin to Pilate. The charges are: (1) that Jesus has been perverting the nation; (2) that Jesus forbade the Jews to pay Roman taxes; (3) that Jesus claimed to be Christ a king. This is the only place in the Gospels where the charge is presented explicitly. In Mark and Matthew the Sanhedrin convicts Jesus of speaking blasphemy, but this charge could not be maintained before Pilate. When Jesus appears before Pilate, the latter questions Jesus: "Are you the king of the Jews?" This implies that the charge of blasphemy has been transformed into a charge of treason. But in Luke the charge of treason and treasonous teaching is clear from the beginning. The best argument for the authenticity of this charge is the fact that the Church and Luke, in particular, attempted to portray the ministry of Jesus and the Christian movement as non-political.

Of the three charges recorded in Luke xxiii 2, the first is too vague and general to be dealt with. The second and most specific is that Jesus forbade the Jews to pay the Roman tax. Although there does not seem to be much basis for this specific charge, there is a pericope in the Synoptics which may represent something of the kind. In Mark xii 13-17 and parallels, certain Pharisees and Herodians question Jesus in this regard. Whoever the Herodians were, it is worth noting that they are connected with this thorny political question. All the Gospels, of course, report that Jesus' answer is affirmative, that one should pay the Roman tax. Although the Gospels are careful to avoid picturing Jesus in a bad light with Rome, it is doubtful if Jesus' answer had a different character as originally given. Even so, the presence of this narrative in the Gospels, at the very least, indicates that Jesus was one who could reasonably be asked such a question. This pericope is significant although it is unique. It may, indeed, represent an attempt to purge Jesus of any connection with a political movement. But why would the attempt be necessary if it was not believed by some that he was connected with a political movement. No one defends where no one accuses. Coupled with the charge in Luke xxiii 2, also unique, we have a very definite impression that Jesus was thought of in connection with some political position or movement.

The third charge indicates that Jesus was thought of as a royal claimant. Again, this was a charge the Church would like to have forgotten. Acts reports that this charge plagued the Christians in the Early Church. We have found no evidence to support the claim, and the charge appears to be a reading back. The Christian movement, as reflected in Acts, seems to have suffered from its belief in Jesus as Messiah, which was interpreted by Rome as lack of loyalty to the Emperor [1]). Luke might have read this back to the time of Jesus, but, if there is other evidence to indicate that Jesus was accused of treason, this charge might be authentic.

C. Luke xxiii 6-12. It is just as difficult to see what apologetic purpose the hearing before Herod could serve. It does not seem to be a part of the attempt to exonerate Rome and blame the Jews. As a matter of fact, Herod never seems to represent the Jews at all. It must have been well-known that Herod was not a Jew by birth. It never seems that the Herodian family is a true representative of the Jews.

It has been suggested that Luke includes the hearing before Herod under the influence of Psalm xxii. "The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord and his anointed" [2]). This verse is actually quoted in Acts iv 26, and kings and rulers are interpreted as Herod and Pilate respectively. But Luke does not refer to this verse in the trial scene at all. It would seem that if Luke's purpose was to demonstrate that prophecy had been fulfilled, he would have made this clear to his readers at once.

The inclusion of the hearing under Herod does serve an historical purpose. Jesus is from Galilee; Herod is his ruler. According to Mark, Herod had been seeking Jesus for some time. It is only natural to expect that Antipas would have some part to play in the execution of Jesus. The Markan tradition has led up to this, and the independent L tradition complements the Markan.

With good reason it has been suggested that the hearing before Herod in Luke xxiii 6-12 is merely a doublet of the trial before

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[1]) Acts xvii 7.

[2]) *Cf., e.g.*, S. MacLean Gilmour, "Exegesis of Luke", *The Interpreter's Bible*, New York 1951-1957, VII, 398; J. M. Creed, *The Gospel According to Saint Luke*, London 1950, p. 280.

Pilate. Although there seems to be good reason for accepting the Herod-incident as basically historical, the fact of duplicity is important. Herod and his soldiers mock Jesus and dress him in the garb of a king, says Luke. This is precisely what happened to Jesus after his condemnation by Pilate, according to Mark and Matthew. This detail is missing after Pilate's condemnation in Luke. It has been transferred to follow the Herod-incident. Is there not a purpose in this transfer? If it is a symbol of condemnation, then it means that the L source implies that Herod Antipas did condemn Jesus. Moreover, Antipas sent Jesus back to Pilate. What would be the reason for this if Herod had found Jesus not guilty? If not guilty, Jesus is a free man. At least this is the way the case is presented in Luke. Pilate examines Jesus in a preliminary fashion and finds no fault in him. So he sends him to Herod. It would seem that if Herod agreed, Jesus would be free. But not so, Jesus is sent back to Pilate.

This leads to the hypothesis that the two sources used by Luke carried two different viewpoints. The Markan viewpoint is that Jesus is presented to Pilate after a night meeting of the Sanhedrin, that Pilate can find no fault in Jesus but submits to the demands of the crowd. The viewpoint of Luke's other source is that Jesus was presented to Pilate after a brief morning meeting of the Sanhedrin, that Pilate sent him to Herod who found him guilty. Luke has combined these two, and the combination gives us a most confused point of view.

The viewpoint of the L source gives us some ground for confidence. This source points to Herod Antipas as the crucial figure in the trial of Jesus. And this makes the best historical sense, when we consider the whole sequence of events. Historically, it harmonizes with the Markan tradition that Antipas was an enemy of Jesus. From all that we know of Antipas in his relations with both John the Baptist and Jesus, we must assume that he could only have thought of Jesus as guilty. This is apparently confirmed in the special source of Luke, though Luke himself presents a confused viewpoint.

In addition, the viewpoint of the special source of Luke implies a rather significant relationship to a certain factor in the career of Jesus. It is clear from the Markan narrative that there was a close relationship between the work of John the Baptist and that of Jesus. Mark has also said that Antipas recognized Jesus as "John the Baptist risen from the dead", or better, "John the Baptist all over again" [1]. The Synoptics contain some references to Herod's attempt to arrest Jesus [2]. The reason for this attempt must rest on Herod's recognition of Jesus. The special source of Luke says that Herod had desired to see Jesus for some time. The most obvious reason for this desire is that which is clearly written in the synoptic account of Jesus' ministry. "He wanted to see Jesus" means that he had been after Jesus in order to arrest him. In a sense, Jesus is a fugitive from justice. The appearance of Herod Antipas at the trial of Jesus reflects this background, and without it there is no adequate reason for the arrest and trial and execution of Jesus.

Our preference for L rests on the conviction that it, and it alone, makes good historical and legal sense:

1. The source presents a pre-trial hearing for Jesus before the Sanhedrin, removing virtually all legal objections to the so-called Jewish trial of Jesus.
2. The L source has a unified viewpoint in regard to the charges against Jesus.
3. The L source brings into the trial Herod Antipas, the one person who was in a position to know about Jesus almost firsthand and the one ruler who is known to have attempted to arrest Jesus on previous occasions.

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[1] Mark vi 14

[2] *E.g.*, Luke xiii 31-33.

SCRIBES PHARISEES HIGHPRIESTS AND ELDERS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

BY

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In the Gospels we very often see Jesus in conclict with the Jewish groups mentioned above. On closer examination the synoptic gospels show a remarkable disagreement in parallel passages dealing with these groups. This disagreement leads us to the question whether a development can be seen in the evangelical tradition with regard to these groups.

In this article the relation as seen in the gospels has been investigated and next the development of the tradition has been traced [1]).

When we survey the groups as met in the gospels we are forced to draw a line between the passion narritives (beginning at Mt xxvi, 1; Mk xiv, 1 and Lk xxii, 1) and the rest of the gospels.

Dealing with the passages in the first part of the gospels we start from the gospels of Mk in passages where the other synoptic gospels obviously are going back on Mk. In these passages it will be easy to discern in which way the other two gospels are dealing with the groups mentioned in Mk. Next we are investigating the passages which are found in Mt and Lk only. In the third place we are dealing with the passages in Lk or Mt only.

A. Passages in which the groups are mentioned up to the passion narratives.

1. Passages in Mk also available in Mt and Lk.

a. Scribes in the Gospel of Mk [2]):

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[1]) The parables are also applied to different groups in parallel passages of the synoptic gospels, cf. J. Jeremias, *Die Gleichnisse Jesu*, Göttingen 1954 ^{3}, p. 19-28.

[2]) scribes — γραμματεῖς — S
pharisees — φαρισαῖοι — P
highpriests — ἀρχιερεῖς — H
elders — πρεσβυτέροι — E
. . . .: no parallel passage available
x : parallel passage available without mentioning a group.

Mk	Mt	Lk
1,22	7,29 S	4,32 x
2,6	9,3 S	5,21 S-P (cf. v. 17: P-νομοδιδάσκαλοι [1])
2,16 [2]	9,11 P	5,30 P-S (cf. 15,2 P-S)
3,22	12,24 9,34 P	11,15 τινὲς
9,11	17,10 S	. . . . .
9,14	17,14 x	9,37 x
12,28	22,35 νομικὸς	20,25 νομικὸς
12,32	. . . . .	cf. 20, 39 S
12,35	22,41 P	20,41 x
12,38	cf. 23,1 S-P	20,46 S

It is necessary to make some remarks with regard to this list. Mt vii 29 is found at the end of the sermon on the mount. The passages Mk i, 21-28 and Lk iv 31-37 are not to be found in Mt. Nevertheless it is obvious that Mt vii, 29 is going back on Mk. In Mk ii, 16 Jesus is accused of eating with tax-collectors and sinners. The same accusation is found in Lk xv, 17. In Mt ix, 32-34 the same accusation is met as in Mk iii, 22 and parr. In this case the common source of Mt and Lk is identical to Mk. Therefore Mt ix, 34 can not be supposed to be dependent on Mk. In addition to this it is not to be said whether Mt and Lk are going back on Mk or on their common source. In the parallel passages of Mk xii, 38 Mt and Lk are using an extra source. With this passage we are dealing again in 2.

From this list we may draw some conclusions. In 9 cases Mt is found to be dependent on Mk. In these cases are found:

S (or νομικὸς)	4 x
P	3 x
S-P	1 x
omission	1 x

In 9 cases Lk is found to be dependent on Mk. In these cases are found:

S (or νομικὸς)	3 x
S-P	2 x
omission (or τινὲς)	4 x

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[1] This word is only to be found in Lk v, 17; Acts v 34, and I Tim. i, 17.

[2] Mk. ii 16 reads: οἱ γραμματεῖς τῶν φαρισαίων.

It is obvious that both Mt and Lk show some reluctance in using the word scribes. They prefer to replace this group by the group of pharisees. The same tendency can be seen in the total omission of the group.

b. Pharisees in Mk:

Mk	Mt		Lk	
2,18	9,14	P	5,33	P [1]
2,24	12,2	P	6,2	P
8,11	16,1	P-σαδδουκαίοι	....	
10,2	19,3	P	....	

Mk viii 11 is also available in the source common to Mt and Lk. Here we find: Mt 12,38 S-P
Lk 11,16 ἕτεροι (cf. Lk 11,15 τινὲς).

This list shows that in all cases where Mt or Lk are dependent on Mk dealing with pharisees no deviations are discerned. This is in agreement with the first list in which a preference for the group of pharisees has been noticed.

c. Pharisees combined with other groups in Mk:

Mk		Mt		Lk	
3,6	P-μετὰ τῶν ἡρωδιανῶν	12,14	P	6,11	x (cf. 6,7 S-P)
7,1,5	P-S	15,1	P-S	......	
7,3	P				
8,15	P-ἡρῴδου [2]	16,6	P-σαδδουκαίοι	12,1	P
12,13	P-ἡρωδιανοί	22,15-16	P-ἡρωδιανοί	20,20	x

Contrary to Mk and Lk the gospel of Mk shows pharisees combined with Herodians three times. In Mt they are only met once. In Lk they are totally omitted. In Mt the pharisees are to be found combined with Sadducees. In Lk we see a tendency to omit the groups mentioned in Mk.

In List b and c the pharisees combined with sadducees are given two times against the parallel passages in Mk. Therefore it is necessary to insert a list dealing with sadducees. Starting from Mk we find:

[1] Mk. ii 18: οἱ μαθηταὶ τῶν φαρ. and Lk. v 33: οἱ τῶν φαρισαίων.

[2] τῶν ἡρωδιανῶν in P^{45} W Θ alii.

Mk	Mt	Lk
12,18 Sadd.	22,23 Sadd.	20,27 Sadd.
8,11 P	16,1 P-Sadd.	....
8,15 P-Herod.	16,6 P-Sadd.	12,1 P
....	16,11-12 P-Sadd.	....
....	3,7 P-Sadd.	3,7 x

The second and third case have been mentioned above. Mk is mentioning the group of Sadducees once in which case he is followed by Mt and Lk. Mt is showing the Sadducees combined with Pharisees twice against Mk without parallel and once in a passage also found in Lk. Sadducees combined with Pharisees seems to go back on the author of the gospel of Mt.

The result of this part dealing with passages in which Mt and Lk are dependent on Mk is given in the following list.

In Mk	S	10 x
	P	4 x (with 7,3: 5 x)
	P-Herod.	4 x
	P-S	1 x

This is quite different from the picture shown by Mt and Lk. The scribes are reduced to 4 x in Mt and 3 x in Lk. They are replaced by pharisees, pharisees and scribes or are totally omitted.

Dealing with the pharisees we noticed that Mt and Lk are following faithfully. Pharisees combined with Herodians are avoided in which case Mt shows a preference for pharisees and sadducees. Pharisees combined with scribes are met in Mk, Mt and Lk, but not very often.

2. Passages common to Mt and Lk:

Mt	Lk
3,7 P-Sadd	3,7 x
9,34 12,24 } P	11,15 τινὲς
13,38 S-P	11,16 ἕτεροι
8,19 S	9,58 x
23, 13, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29 S-P	11,37, 38, 39, 42, 43 P
	11,45, 46, 52 νομικοὶ
23,34 προφήτας-σοφοὺς-γραμματεῖς	11,49 προφήτας-ἀποστόλους

In the last case we are probably not dealing with Jewish groups[1].

The list given above is not able to show whether Mt and Lk are faithfully following their sources. This does not mean that this list is not a remarkable one. In the first place we are struck that the passages in which the groups are mentioned are only limited to five cases[2]. In the second place we notice that in four out of five cases Lk does not mention the groups at all. Mt is showing the usual preference for pharisees. We wonder whether Mt is following the source common to Mt and Lk or whether Lk is showing his preference to omit these Jewish groups. From Lk 11,37 etc. and 11,45 etc. it is obvious, however, that the underlying source made a sharp distinction between P and S. In this case Mt 23,13 etc. seems to be secondary[3].

3. Passages in which Mt and Lk are mentioning the groups without parallels:

Mt 2,4 H-S
5,20 S-P
13,52 S[4]
15,12 P
16,11-12 P-Sadd. (See 1 c).
21,15 H-S

Lk 7,30 P-νομικοὶ
7,36 P
13,31 P

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[1] See E. Klostermann, *Matthäus*, in: *Handb. z. N.T.* II, Tübingen 1909, p. 316-317.

[2] As the groups are often met in polemical matter this may be due to the character of the source common to Mt and Lk, see T.W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus*, Cambridge 1931, p. 28: – the proportion of polemical matter is lower in Q than in any other of our four documents (scil. Mk Q M L).

[3] See J. Jeremias, γραμματεύς, in: *Theol. W.b.* I, p. 740-742, p. 741-742: — klärend ist ein Vergleich von Mt 23, 1-36 mit der Parallel-überlieferung bei Lk, die erkennen läszt, dasz zwischen Worten Jesu gegen die Schriftgelehrten (Lk xi, 46 bis lii; xx, 46) und Worten Jesu gegen die Pharisäer (Lk xi, 39-42. 44) unterschieden werden musz.

[4] The word 'scribe' is probably meant in a christian sense like in Mt xxiii, 34, par., see Klostermann, *o.c.*, p. 259 and E. Lohmeyer-W. Schmauch, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus*, in: *Krit.-Exeg. Komm. ü. das N.T.*, Sonderband, Göttingen 1956, p. 229*).

Lk 14,1 ἀρχόντων τῶν φαρισαίων [1])
14,3 νομικὸς-P
16,14 P
17,20 P
18,10-11 P
19,39 P

Compared with the passages parallel in Mt and Lk the number of passages appears to be remarkably great. There is a possibility that in some passages the mention of these groups is due to the authors of Mt and Lk. This is proven in one case mentioned in list 1 a. Here we see how Luke is adding in 15,1 a passage obviously taken from Mk 2,16.

Surveying these 15 cases as a whole we notice:

P	8 x
P-S (or νομικοὶ)	3 x
H-S	2 x
F-Sadd	1 x
S	1 x

This list shows a remarkable agreement with the development of the tradition as can be seen in list 1.

The result of these lists showing the evidence up to the passion narratives may be given in the following 5 points.

1. In Mk we see separate groups of pharisees and scribes. We also see pharisees combined with Herodians (3 x) and scribes (1 x). The sadducees are met only once.

2. In Mt and Lk the group of scribes is often replaced by the group of pharisees or pharisees combined with other groups. In Lk and Mk we notice a tendency to omit the group of Herodians.

3. In Mt and Lk the pharisees are very often mentioned as a separate group.

4. In Mt the pharisees are met combined with sadducees and scribes.

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[1]) The word ἄρχοντες meaning to circumscribe a Jewish group is found in Lk only: xxiii, 13 H-τοὺς ἄρχοντες
xxiii, 35 ἄρχοντες (Mk xv, 31 H-P)
xxiv, 20 H-ἄρχοντες
In Acts 4, 4 and 4,8: ἄρχοντας(τες) -E, cf. 3, 17. The word has to be translated by 'authorities'.

5. In Lk pharisees are combined with scribes though in less cases than in Mt. In many cases Lk is omitting the groups, but in one case he is apparently inserting the groups (Lk xv 2).

It is evident that in the evangelical tradition the significance of the different Jewish groups appears to be unknown. The pharisees are becoming the most important opponents of Jesus. In certain passages a bringing together of different groups appears to be an attempt to designate the Jewish leaders as a whole.

B. Passages mentioning the group in the passion narratives.

Sometimes the groups are circumscribing the sanhedrim. Starting from Mk a list is given of these passages.

Mk	Mt	Lk
14,1 H-S	26,3 H-E	22,2 H-S
14,43 H-S-E	26,47 H-E	....
14,53 H-E-S [1]	26,57 H-E	22,54 H
14,53 H-ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον	26,59 H-ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον	....
15,1 H-E-S [2]	27,1 H-E	22,66 πρεσβυτέριον: H-E
....	27,3 H-E	....

Possibly the following passages are belonging to this list [3].

11,18 H-S	....	19,47 H-S
11,27 H-S-E	21,23 H-E	20,1 H-S-E
14,10 H	26,14 H	22,4 H-στρατηγοῖς [4]
15,3 H	27,12 H-E	....
15,10 H	....	....
15,11 H	27,20 H-E	23,18 x
15,31 H-S	27,41 H-S-E	23,35 ἄρχοντες

---

[1] Mk. xiv 53 reads: πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ συνέρχονται πάντες οἱ ἀρχ. καὶ οἱ πρεσβ.

[2] Mk. xv 1 reads: ἀρχ. μετὰ τῶν πρεσβ. καὶ γραμμ. καὶ ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον, cf. E. KLOSTERMANN, *Das Markusevangelium*, in: *Handb. z. N.T.*, Tübingen 1936, p. 158: καὶ ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον ist hypertrophisch-.

[3] As given in KLOSTERMANN, *Markus-Evangelium*, p. 83.

[4] This word is only met in Lk.

From these lists we may conclude:

1. From all these cases, whether dealing with the sanhedrim or not, we see that in the process against Jesus the highpriests played the most important part.

2. Mk is showing a tendency to characterise the opponents of Jesus with the groups being represented in the sanhedrim [1]).

3. Mt shows a preference to circumscribe the opponents with highpriests and elders.

4. Lk is often circumscribing the groups by words to be understood by non-jewish readers.

Next we give a list of the remaining passages:

Predication of the passion:

Mk	Mt	Lk
8,31 E-H-S	16,21 E-H-S	9,22 E-H-S
10,33 H-S	20,18 H-S	18,31 x

Next we find:

Mt 21,45-46 H-F   Lk 20,19 S-H
Lk only in 23,10 H-S

Finally some passages drawn from post-resurrection narratives:

Mt 27,62 H-P and 28,11 H
Lk 24,20 H-ἄρχοντες.

All this does not change the result as drawn above. Two times the pharisees are combined with highpriests. This may be an attempt to circumscribe the two most important opponents against Jesus before and during the process. It may be noticed that the elders do not play a separate part [2]).

The total picture shows a tendency to consider the pharisees before and the highpriests during the process to be the real opponents of Jesus.

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[1]) See especially SCHRENK, ἀρχιερεύς, in: *Theol. W.b.* III, p. 265-284, p. 271-272.

[2]) The only exception is Mk vii, 5 and Mt xv, 2: παράδοσις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. In this case we are, however, not dealing with a group as dealt with in the other passages. See BORNKAMM, in: *Theol. W.b.* VI, p. 661: Der Sprachgebrauch von πρεσβυτέροι an dieser Stelle ist bereits der später im Judentum geläufige (scil. in the sense of 'Lehrer').

This development can be seen in the Gospel of John also. We meet 1. highpriests, 2. pharisees, 3. highpriests combined with pharisees. Scribes are not available in John. The same can be said of the scribes combined with pharisees (except viii, 3!). The gospel of John appears to be in agreement with the development of the tradition in the early church regarding the mention of Jewish groups.

ON TESTIMONIES

BY

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Until the publication of C. H. DODD's *According to the Scriptures* [1], interest in testimonies centered around J. RENDEL HARRIS' theory of testimony books [2]. According to his theory, an enlarging collection of Old Testament proof-text prophecies fulfilled in Jesus and the Christian church were gathered into books of testimonies. The Old Testament texts, HARRIS supposed, were collected according to theological titles of particular interest to the church, eg., "that Jesus was the stone" [3]. Having knowledge of such collections in a later period of the church [4], HARRIS suggested that testimony collections have an intrinsic probability of representing the earliest Christian theological effort and, therefore, antedate all extant Christian writings [5]. Thus, testimony books served as sources for the writers of the New Testament and other early Christian works. That the New Testament writers actually used collections of testimonies is evinced, according to HARRIS, by such phenomena as: 1) identical mixed Old Testament quotations found in more than one Christian writer, 2) parallel misidentification of Old Testament passages cited, and 3) similar textual variants from all extant Old Testament texts in Old Testament citations in the New Testament [6]. These curiosities, HARRIS suggests, indicate common sources in which these errors were first made and from which they passed into our present Christian collection; they, also support the supposition that many of the Old Testament passages cited in the New Testament belonged to such collections.

HARRIS presented his theory with much cogency and his work has been the basic work in the field ¹). DODD tells us that he worked with HARRIS' hypothesis for many years and (like all subsequent students of the problem) is greatly indebted to Harris' work ²). Dodd, however, has come to question HARRIS' theory, concluding that the theory outruns the evidence. If such a book existed and was used widely by the New Testament writers, how, DODD asks, could it have been omitted from the canon of Christian scriptures and never be referred to, unless by PAPIAS' enigmatic reference to the *logia* of Matthew ³)? And why should it not have emerged as a substantive work until Cyprian edited it in the middle of the third century ⁴)? Actually, the earliest mention of such a collection of testimonies is found in Melito c. A.D. 170. However, either he knew no such collection or found known ones unsatisfactory since he made a collection of Old Testament testimonies for himself ⁵). Moreover, DODD remarks, the recurrence of the group of passages in which a "stone" is used as a symbol is striking; it corresponds to an established grouping in known testimony books. But it is almost the only group of its kind, certainly the only one which carries any particular weight ⁶). DODD's criticism continues, that the list of identical combinations of Old Testament passages occuring in more than one writer is comparatively short. They may be exceptional cases and are insufficient to prove a general theory ⁷).

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[1] New York, 1953.

[2] *Testimonies*, I, II (Cambridge, 1916-1920).

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 18-19, cf. p. 10.

[4] Eg., in Cyprian's *Testimonia*, Tertullian's *Adversus Judaeos* and another work of the same title attributed to Gregory of Nyssa.

[5] *Op. cit.*, I, 21-25, II, 2.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, 18.

K. STENDAHL has further subjected HARRIS' theory to critical examination ⁸). Noting that Matthew's use of the Old Testament is crucial to HARRIS' theory, he askes, "did Matthew use testimonies?" STENDAHL reached a negative conclusion to his question. FINDLAY's study ⁹) had shown that known collections of testimonies do not follow Matthew either in word order or in language; he concluded

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¹) Cf. K. STENDAHL, *The School of St. Matthew* (*Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis*, XX, Uppsala, 1954), pp. 207 ff., for a summary of work on testimonies.

²) *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

³) Cf. F. C. BURKITT, *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, 2nd. ed. (Edinburgh, 1907), pp. 124-128, followed by HARRIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 124 ff., thought Papias' reference (Eusebius, H. E., IV. xxvi 13-14) was to the testimony book. Cf. STENDAHL, *op. cit.*, p. 209, note 2.

⁴) DODD, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 f.

⁵) EUSEBIUS, *H. E.*, IV. xxvi 13-14.

⁶) *Op. cit.*, pp. 26 f.

⁷) *Idem.*

⁸) *Op. cit.*, pp. 210 ff.

⁹) A. J. FINDLAY, *The First Gospel and the Book of Testimonies*, in *Amicitiae Corolla*, (London, 1933), pp. 57-71.

that Matthew was not in the main testimony stream. Thus, STENDAHL continues, the question reverts to HATCHE's attempt to explain the composite quotations by the use of testimonies [1]. But, similar to DODD, here STENDAHL finds more simple alternatives than the testimony hypothesis. A hint as to how the intermingling of texts came about may be found in the *midrashim* where Old Testament quotations are brought together by the association of ideas and by the collection of passages from the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings. The ascription of passages to incorrect authors (and, no doubt, the mixture of some passages as well) must partly be due to the faulty memory of the authors. Thus, STENDAHL concludes, the methods of the synagogue in dealing with the texts of the Old Testament, both in liturgical reading and in teaching, account for most of the features HARRIS wanted to explain by his Book of Testimonies [2]. These criticisms so weaken HARRIS' hypothesis as to destroy its usefulness.

A fresh approach to the problem of Old Testament citations in the New is made by DODD in his recent study [3]. DODD's method in this study is to isolate those elements which are so widely common to the New Testament books that they must be regarded as forming part of a central tradition, by which they were all more or less controlled [4]. This central tradition embodied the events of the *kerygma*: the ministry, suffering, and death of Jesus, the resurrection, the session, the infilling of the Holy Spirit, and the eschatological expectation [5]. These events, however, could have significance in the early church only as they were related to the scriptures. "Thus the church was committed, by the very terms of its *kerygma*", says DODD, "to a formidable task of biblical research, primarily for the purpose of clarifying its own understanding of the momentous events out of which it had emerged, and also for the purpose of making its Gospel intelligible to the outside public" [6]. Therefore, DODD turns his attention to collecting passages from the Old Testament which, "being cited by two or more writers of the New Testament in *prima facie* independence of one another, may fairly be presumed to have been current as *testimonia* before they wrote" [1]. DODD makes this collection upon the assumption that where two separate writers cite the same passage from the Old Testament, unless there are definite reasons to the contrary, they represent to that extent a common tradition [2]. DODD's collection of such passages consists of fifteen examples [3]. DODD then turns, in a chapter entitled, *The Bible of the Early Church*, to the problem of collecting Old Testament passages where two or more New Testament writers "have quoted or recalled, contiguous or adjacent sentences within a wider context", which, also, "may be supposed to be drawn from pre-canonical tradition" [4]. Through the investigation of contiguous Old Testament passages cited in the New, DODD would show that the unit of reference was intended to be wider than the usual brief quotation [5]. He, therefore, concludes, "these sections were understood as *wholes*, and particular verses or sentences were quoted from them rather as pointers to the whole context than as constituting testimonies in and for themselves" [6]. The Old Testament sections therein discovered, DODD would say, may be considered the bible of the early church [7].

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[1] E. HATCH, *Essays in Biblical Greek* (Oxford, 1889), pp. 203, 209-211.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 217.

[3] *According to the Scriptures*. Cf., also, DODD's earlier statement, *The Old Testament in the New* (London, 1952).

[4] *Acc. to the Scripts.*, p. 11.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 11 f.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

In the light of DODD's thesis, it would seem reasonable to expect a considerable concentration of interest on the part of the New Testament writers in the special Old Testament sections indicated by DODD. And this concentration should readily appear in indices of the Old Testament citations in the New that are impartial to Dodd's study. In this expectation Table I, on Old Testament chapters multiply cited in the New, was prepared from such an impartial index. The most evident fact displayed by this table is the absence of any real concentration of New Testament references to particular passages of the Old Testament. Forty-two percent of the four hundred twenty-three Old Testament chapters cited in the New Testament are cited by more than one New Testament writer. Fifty-six of Isaiah's sixty-six chapters are cited, seventy-one percent doubly. Of the one hundred one Psalms cited, more than a third are doubly cited. DODD's listings of "Primary sources of

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 31-57.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 61.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 126. Cf. STENDAHL, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
[7] *Acc. to the Scripts.*, pp. 107 f.

TABLE I

OT Chapters Multiply Cited in the NT*

Book	No. of Chapts. in OT Book	No. of Chapts. Cited in NT	No. of Chapts. Cited by NT Authors				
			Twice	Thrice	Four Times	Five Times	Six Times
Genesis	50	29	7	7	3		
Exodus	40	30	8	4	3		
Leviticus	27	12	1	1	1		
Numbers	36	12		1			
Deuteronomy	34	28	8	4	1		
Joshua	24	12	1				
Judges	21	2					
Samuel	55	19		1		1	
Kings	47	10	2	1			
Isaiah	66	56	17	14	6	1	2
Jeremiah	52	25	9	3			
Ezekiel	48	28	3	2			
The Twelve	67	42	15	4	1		
Psalms	150	101	23	7	3	3	
Proverbs	31	12	1		1		1
Job	42	7					
Canticles	8						
Ruth	4						
Lamentations	5	1					
Ecclesiastes	12						
Esther	10	2					
Daniel	12	12	6	1	1		
Ezra-Nehemiah	23	1					
Chronicles	65	2					

* The Synoptic Gospels and Acts are counted as one because of interdependence. The index used is "*Index locorum*", *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. E. Nestle. Stuttgart (1948), pp. 658-671.

testimonies", and of "Subordinate and supplementary sources" [1]), simply do not account for the greater portion of Old Testament citations in the New. This is true whether one compares a chapter by chapter count of Nestle's index or whether the comparison is made of doubly attested chapters, as in Table I.

A further test of DODD's thesis that certain *sections* of the Old Testament served as a kind of "bible of the early church" may be

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[1] *Idem.*

TABLE II

The relative importance of Old Testament books cited in the New Testament

	N.T.	Mt.	Mk.	Lk.-Acts	Jn.	Paul	Cath.	Heb.	Jas.	I Pet.	II Pet.	I, II, III Jn	Jude	Rev.
W:														
nesis	.64	.13	.13	.44	.05	.44		1.88	1.16	.27				1.79
odus	.45	.42	.37	.63	.13	.39	.16	.96	.35	.31				2.16
iticus	.26	.29	.26	.02		.13		.43	.93	.83				.44
mbers	.10	.06	.05	.09	.06	.04	.15	.72						.19
uternomy	.44	.52	.58	.34		.57	.50	.93	1.13					1.17
Total	1.89	1.42	1.39	1.52	.24	1.57	.81	4.92	3.57	1.41				5.75
OPHETS														
shua	.03			.03										.34
dges	.01			.02										.11
nuel	.04	.02	.05	.09	.05	.05		.15						.14
ngs	.05	.06	.07	.04	.05	.03								.40
iah	.95	.64	.33	.45	.19	.73	.09	.72	.65	2.89	1.19			4.45
emiah	.19	.16	.10	.08		.01		.20	.22					1.66
ekiel	.33	.08	.17	.08		.14		.09		.50				3.18
e Twelve	.51	.50	.34	.24	.15	.22		.70		.50			1.92	2.35
Total	2.11	1.46	1.06	1.03	.44	1.18	.09	1.86	.87	3.89	1.19		1.92	12.63
RITINGS														
alms	.67	.45	.34	.44	.28	.40	.36	1.75	.65	.88	.45			2.97
overbs	.47	.05		.02		.28	.22	.62	1.48	2.22	.69			.48
b	.09	.04	.06	.04		.09		.81						.08
ve Scrolls	.01	.04	.07											
niel	1.79	.94	.99	.21		.05	.41		1.86					
ronicles	.02		.01						.23				6.40	12.40
ra-Nehemiah				.03										
Total	3.05	1.52	1.47	.74	.28	.82	.99	3.18	4.22	3.10	1.14		6.40	15.93

* The Old Testament citations in the New Testament are taken from *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed E. Nestle and E. Nestle (Stuttgart: Würtembergische Bibelanstalt, 1948), pp. 658-671. The values given are citations per page in the New Testament after the Old Testament books have been corrected to a common length.

had in a comparison of the relative importance of each Old Testament book to each New Testament writer. A significant, predominance, consistant through most of the New Testament authors, of those Old Testament books containing the passages Dodd suggests as part of the "bible of the early church" would tend to confirm DODD's hypothesis. Such a comparison has been tabulated in Table II. The table shows the quotations per page in the New Testament authors of the Old Testament books, after the Old Testament books have been corrected to a common length [1]).

Again, in Table II we are met with multiplicity rather than uniformity. Among the thirteen New Testament author groups, one-quarter of the Old Testament books appear first in importance to a New Testament author group. If one asks, how many books would be included in a list of the five most important Old Testament books to each New Testament author group, we find one-half of the Old Testament books in this list (counting a twenty-four book canon). Even among the Synoptics, where interdependence is presumed, an unexpected degree of variation is found. Daniel is the most important book to Mark and Matthew. But Exodus ranks first in Luke-Acts; Daniel does not even appear among the five most important books for this author. Isaiah is almost twice as frequently cited in Matthew as in Mark, moving from fifth in importance in Mark to second in Matthew. The material of DODD's *Bible of the Early Church* is forty-three percent from Isaiah [2]) but nowhere is such a preponderance of citations from Isaiah to be observed, except in I (31%) and II (52%) Peter. Otherwise Isaiah is the most important Old Testament book only to Paul (20.7%, followed by Deut.). Generally, in the New Testament, the substantial use of the Law, as compared with the Prophets and the Writings, is to be observed; the frequency ratio in the New Testament is within five percent of roughly contemporary Jewish usage (except Philo) [3]). Greater clarity is indicated in the Old Testament books that tend to be neglected by the New Testament authors. These include the historical books (the Former Prophets, Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah), the Five Scrolls, and Numbers. Even the uniformity of disuse, however, is broken: the author of Revelation has made significant use of the Former Prophets. And Hebrews cites Numbers as frequently as Isaiah! Tables I and II significantly demonstrate the breadth with which the writers of the New Testament used the Old; Dodd has overlooked a remarkable absence of concentration.

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[1]) A direct, book to book comparison would be of little value because of the inherent probability that longer books would be more frequently quoted than shorter books. By correcting the OT books to a common length the figures are made comparative.

[2]) The material of DODD's *Bible of the Early Church* (*op. cit.*,) pp. 107 f. fills about 46 pages of the *R.S.V.* of which about 20 pages are from Isaiah.

[3]) Cf. my article *The Old Testament of the Early Church*, *Harvard Theological Review*, LI (1958), 211, note

Another point of Dodd's hypothesis that bears testing is his assertion that citations in the New Testament of a verse or phrase from the Old frequently constitutes an intended reference to a larger context in doubly attested passages [1]. Dodd would, thus, make the Old Testament passages cited in the New into a kind of early reference system (that could now be replaced by chapter references?). If the Old Testament citations in the New are frequently intended as mere references to a larger passage (as collected in *the Bible of the Early Church*), it would not be necessary for the Old Testament portion cited to carry the weight of the argument or reference, but merely to indicate where the weight of the argument could be found. The New Testament text could be presumed to be fragmentary and incomplete at the points of Old Testament citation, which lack would be readily filled by referring to the context of the citation in the Old Testament. We may expect that such a dependence on *the Bible of the Early Church* would be generally self-evident in the New.

But do the citations of the Old Testament generally depend upon the context of the passage for their meanings in the New Testament citations? There are, to be sure, some few citations where a larger context seems to be implied [2]. But these passages are heavily outweighed by the atomistic citations of the Old Testament [3]. Of course, Dodd's field is more narrow and we must inquire whether the New Testament citations from those passages which Dodd suggests were *the Bible of the Early Church* [4] usually require the larger context that Dodd suggests. There is not space here for detailed examination of all of Dodd's passages; one or two examples will suffice.

Isa. xl 1-11 is cited by five New Testament author-groups and may serve as one example. All four gospels have citations from this passage as a proof-text for John the Baptist. And the motifs of Isa. xl 1-10 compare well with the motifs of the Baptist's ministry in the gospels: a call for preparation, the Lord is coming, and he brings judgement. When we examine the Synoptic Gospels, however, the results are disappointing for DODD's thesis. Though the motifs for the ministry of John the Baptist are to be found in this passage from Isaiah, the point of reference to Isaiah, through a curious alteration of the LXX text, is made to support only the wilderness preaching of John [1]; the prediction of a forerunner is found in Mal. iii 1 [2]. Mark does not include the motif of judgement that will accompany the coming of of the Lord; Matthew and Luke do not turn to Isaiah xl 10 for support of this motif [3]. Likewise, in John i 19-23 the reference to Isa. xl 3 carries only the weight that John the Baptist preached in the wilderness, calling for rectitude; its purpose is a rejection of the suspicion that John the Baptist was the Christ or Elijah (the forerunner?) [4].

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[1] *Acc. to the Scripts.* pp. 59, 61 ff.

[2] *E.g.*, Ps. xxii 22 cited in Heb. ii 12; Isa. liii 7 cited by Rev. v 6, 12; xiii 8; Isa. liii 4, 5, 9, 12 cited by I Pet. ii 21-25. The latter citation is consistent with, though it does not require, a larger context of reference.

[3] W. O. E. Osterley, *The Exegesis of the Old Testament*, in *Record and Revelation*, ed. H. W. Robinson (Oxford, 1938), p. 412.

[4] *Acc. to the Scripts.*, pp. 107 f.

The Epistles of James and I Peter allude to Isa. xl 6-8, which compares the trancientness of life to the permanence of the word of God: physical existance (σάρξ) and human glory (πᾶσα δόξα ἀνθρώπου) are momentary as grass and its blossom but τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἡκῶν μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, i.e., the word given to to the prophet will be fulfilled. This is, also, the meaning of the allusion in I. Pet. i 23-25, where, however, the permanent ῥῆμα κυρίου is not the word given to the prophet but τὸ ῥῆμα τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν εἰς ὑμᾶς which is σπορὰ ἄφθαρτος. James i 9-11, on the other hand, alludes to this passage in Isaiah as indicative of the illusion of wordly values: in the heat of the sun the grass withers, its flower falls, and its beauty perishes; οὕτως καὶ ὁ πλούσιος ἐν ταῖς πορείαις αὐτοῦ μαρανθήσεται. Rev. xxii 12 is apparently an allusion to Isa xl 10. As Isaiah (II) promised reward and recompense to the suffering Jews, so the Christian under persecution can look forward to the coming of the Lord who will recompense everyone for what he has done. To suggest that any of these New Testament writers, citing from Isa. xl 1-11, is referring to the entire eleven verses is not consistent with the evidence. The precise portion cited in each instance is sufficient for the author's purpose.

Psalm xxii is cited by six New Testament author-groups and will serve as another point of testing of DODD's thesis. The Synoptic gospels refer to verses 1, 7, 8, and 18 of this Psalm in relating the

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1) Cf. STENDAHL, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.
2) Mk. i 2; Matt. xi 10; Lk. vii 27.
3) Matt. iii 12; Lk. iii 17.
4) Cf. Mk. ix 11-13; Matt. xi 13-14; xvii 11-13.

crucifixion story and the Fourth Gospel cites verse 18. Verse 1a, transliterated from the Hebrew and then translated into Greek, is a cry of Jesus from the cross in Mk. xv 34 and Matt. xxvii 46. Mk. xv 29 and Matt. xxvii 39 allude to vs. 7a when they describe the spectators at the crucifixion deriding and wagging their heads at Jesus; the same context in Luke (xxiii 35) attributes scoffing only to the rulers. The mocking of the rulers in Matt. xxvii 43, πέποιθεν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ῥυσάσθω νῦν εἰ θέλει αὐτόν, is apparently an allusion to vs. 8. Mk. xv 24, Matt. xxvii 35, and Lk. xxiii 34 allude to vs. 18 in describing the soldiers dividing Jesus' clothing by casting lots; Jn. xix 24 quotes this verse with the formula, ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ, in describing the division of Jesus' garments among the soldiers and their casting lots over his tunic as a fulfillment of prophecy. However, while the gospel writers show their acquaintance with Ps. xxii by their repeated use of it in the crucifixion story there is no indication in any single instance that a broader reference to the Psalm is intended; the portion cited is sufficient to the author's purpose. The allusions in Rm. v. 5 to vs. 5, in II Tim. iv 17 to vs. 21, and in Rev. xix 5 to vs. 23 and xi 15 to vs. 28 appear more like verbal likenesses, such as one finds among those well acquainted with the scriptures, than intentional references to specific passages of scripture. Heb. ii 12, (17) quotes vs. 22 in support of the argument that Christians are brethren of Christ. Since Christians are sanctified through Christ they are related to him; the sanctifier and the sanctified have the same origin: δι᾽ ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεται ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοὺς καλεῖν, λέγων, the writer of the Hebrews continues, and quotes Ps. xxii 22, ἀπαγγελῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου, ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε. Here the writer has used the words of Ps. xxii as appropriate to Christ. The use presupposes the suffering of Christ and his resurrection. And the quotation from Ps. xxii 22 only has relevance in Hebrews from its context of suffering and deliverance in the psalm. This appears to be an instance where understanding of the Old Testament citation depends upon its larger context in the Old Testament.

Such examples could be monotonously multiplied. Citations of contiguous Old Testament passages by more than one New Testament author do not of themselves indicate that such citations serve as a kind of index-reference to a larger context in the Old Testament. It must be shown that the multiply cited Old Testament passages regularly require the larger reference in order to understand the citation in its New Testament context. But such evidence is not to be had. Only a minority of Old Testament citations seem to imply a larger Old Testament context; they will not carry the weight of Dodd's thesis.

Another issue of Dodd's hypothesis, which is closely related to the multiple citation of contiguous passages, is his supposition that there existed, prior to the writing of any books of the New Testament, a traditional method of exegesis of Old Testament passages [1]. This supposition can mean only one thing: that the same Old Testament passage received the same interpretation whenever it was cited in the New. However, careful examination of doubly cited passages indicates that there is no such uniformity of Old Testament interpretation. Examples of varied interpretation of Old Testament texts related to the *kerygma* may be had in the following: II. Sam. vii 14 is interpreted in Heb. i 5 as God speaking to Jesus, ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῳ εἰς πατέρα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱόν; however, Rev. xxi 7 relates this saying to faithful Christians. Ps. ii 1 is related in Acts iv 25-27 to the events of Jesus' trial and crucifixion; in Rev. xii 18 it is related to the final judgement. The preaching of peace from Isa lii 7 is depicted in Acts x 36 as fulfilled by Jesus but Paul relates the saying to the preaching of the gospel by Christians (Rm. x 15; cf. Eph. vi 15). More than one example of divergent exegesis is found in citations from Isa. liii: Matt. viii 17 quotes vs. 4, αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβεν καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασεν, as fulfilled in Jesus' miraculous cures; I Pet. ii 21-25 cites the same passage as fulfilled in Jesus' death [2]. Verse 9b, ὅτι ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ δόλον ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ, is used in I Pet. ii 22 as a description of Jesus while Rev. xiv 5 alludes to it as a description of Christians. Again vs. 12 appears in Lk. xxii 36-38 as the scriptural prediction of whatever episode in Jesus' life that sinister passage implies; but to Paul (Rm. iv 24-25), the writer of Hebrews (ix 28), and the writer of I Peter (ii 24) the verse is considered a prediction of Jesus' death [3]. The prophecy in Zech. xii 10 is quoted in Jn. xix 37 as a prediction of the piercing of Jesus' side after his death, καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρα γραφὴ λέγει· ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν; Rev. i 7 uses the same passage as a prediction of the second coming (cf. Matt. xxiv 30). The variation of exegesis in these passages suggests that, while the early church was convinced that the Old Testament contained predictions about Jesus and the church, there did not exist at the time of the composition of the New Testament books an established tradition of exegesis for Old Testament passages which the New Testament writers accepted and adopted.

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[1] *Acc. to the Scripts.* pp. 11, 21-23, 57 f., 108 f., 126 f.

[2] Cf. Mk. ix 12 which, also, appears to be an allusion to this passage.

[3] Cf. also the rejected reading of Mk. xv 28, καὶ ἐπληρώθη ἡ γραφὴ ἡ λέγουσα· καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη (EFGHSUVΩΘ), which can hardly be regarded as an interpolation from Lk. xxii 37.

Indeed, the direct application of Old Testament passages to New Testament meanings may not have been as primitive as either HARRIS or DODD suppose. Double citation, upon which DODD builds his case, must have relevance apart from its relation to the *kerygma* if it has usefulness as a historical tool. But doubly cited passages relate, also, to what is manifestly developed positions of the church. For example, the Jewish rejection of Jesus and the gospel appears as a fulfillment of prophecy doubly cited [1]). Our earliest evidences of Christianity were written against the background of Jewish rejection as an accomplished fact. Only the Gentile mission is treated seriously in the New Testament; the Jewish mission is perfunctory, to fulfill the prediction of rejection. But certainly the earliest Christian activity must have been preaching to Jewish hearers. Probably in the first instance this preaching did not presuppose rejection. The Jewish-Christian community that existed in Jerusalem until A.D. 68-70 [2]), probably did not regard themselves as a lost cause. If Acts (xv 1-29) may be trusted, the Jewish-Christian community was cautious in its attitude toward the Gentile mission. And, yet, our earliest sources regard the Jewish rejection as a *fait accompli*, according to the scriptures; and there are doubly attested Old Testament proof-texts attesting thereto. The conclusion that a process of development preceded this doubly attested tradition is inescapable.

Another feature reflecting theological development and doubly attested by references to the Old Testament is the concept of salvation by faith, which finds its chief example from the Old Testament in Abraham [3]). It is evident from New Testament usage that faith means faith in Jesus Christ. However, messianic anticipations in Judaism apparently did not stipulate that only those who properly identified the messiah when he came would share in the redemption of Israel [1]). Probably the first Christians were Jews who had identified Jesus as the Messiah [2]). It seems likely that the earliest Christian preaching was of the glad news that the Messiah was identifiable. Faith in this identification of the Messiah with Jesus as a requirement for participation in the Messiah's reign soon to be instituted appears to be a development in Christianity resulting from Jewish refusal to receive the proclaimed good news, indeed, the Jewish attempt to surpress it. To verify this position the Christians turned to the Old Testament, as they did for proofs that Jesus was the Messiah, and found that Abraham was counted righteous because he believed God. The Christians claimed that they were inheritors of God's promises to Abraham because they, like Abraham, believed God's message, i.e., that Jesus was God's Christ. This requirement of faith that the Christ was Jesus forms part of the message of our earliest sources; the Old Testament passages used to support it are doubly attested in our earliest Christian sources: Paul, Hebrews (and the speeches in Acts).

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[1]) Cf. II Ki. i 10 cited by Lk ix 54; Rev. xx 9; Isa. xxix 13 cited by Mk. vii 6-7 (Matt. xv 8-9); Col. ii 21-22; Isa xlv 14 cited by I Cor. xiv 25; Rm. iii 9; Isa. lii 5 cited by Rm. ii 24; II Pet. ii 2; Dan viii 13-14 cited by Lk. xxi 24; Rev. xi 2.

[2]) EUSEBIUS, *H. E*, III. v. 3.

[3]) Gen. xii 1 cited in Acts vii 3; Heb xi 8. Gen. xii 7 (xiii 15; xlviii 4) cited in Acts vii 5; Gal iii 16. Gen xv 6 cited in Rm. iv 3, 9, 22-23; Gal. iii 6; James ii 3.

On the principle of double attestation these two features have as valid a claim to an existing tradition of primitive character as any of the features of the *kerygma*. It is only by hypothesis that the *kerygma* features may be separated as more primitive. That is to say, the earliest historical evidence of Christian beginnings already reflects these developments.

DODD's theory of testimonia actually only represents a variation in form of Harris' hypothesis of testimonies. It is frought with the same cannonical problem DODD found with HARRIS': if the early church made such a collection of Old Testament passages and used it as the basic Old Testament reference for its preaching of the gospel, how could it have been omitted from the canon? Like HARRIS, DODD's theory outruns the evidence. KILPATRICK's observations on HARRIS' hypothesis still remain: it is unlikely that the Christians of the first century had a testimony book apart from the Greek Bible itself. "More truly it could be said that this was their testimony book and that, apart from the general view that Scripture *in toto et in partibus* was fulfilled by and in our Lord, homiletic exposition was accustomed to use certain quotations from the Old Testament regularly in connection with certain events of the Gospel story" [1]).

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[1]) G. F. MOORE, *Judaism* (Cambridge, 1927-30), II, 323 ff.

[2]) A. N. WILDER, *Otherworldliness and the New Testament* (New York, 1954), p. 111.

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[1]) G. D. KILPATRICK, *The Origins of the Gospel according to St. Matthew* (Oxford, 1946), p. 66.

OIKONOMIA = "COVENANT"; TERMS FOR *HEILSGESCHICHTE* IN EARLY CHRISTIAN USAGE

BY

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Οἰκονομία is a rare but important New Testament word denoting God's plan of salvation [1]. It appears in Paul, at 1 Cor. ix 17 and Col. i 25, with reference to the "commission" or "stewardship" or "divine office" granted to him in God's program. In Ephesians the term means not only "the stewardship of God's grace" (iii 2) given to the Apostle to the Gentiles, but also, in an application which goes beyond any earlier Pauline nuance, refers to the plan itself of God, "set forth in Christ... for the fulness of time" (i 10), "the plan of the mystery hidden for ages in God ... which he has realized in Christ Jesus our Lord" (iii 9), what C. Leslie Mitton has called God's "planned economy", "statesmanship", "generalship", or "strategy" for man's salvation [2].

This use of *oikonomia* for the divine plan of salvation occurs much more frequently in early Christian literature outside the canon. Ignatius, for instance, in his letter to the Ephesians (20, 1; cf. 18, 2), speaks of the "economy relating to the new man Jesus Christ", the new covenantal relationship which he has initiated [3].

Thereafter, in the writings of the church fathers, *oikonomia* becomes increasingly common, especially employed with reference to the covenants through which God has worked out his plan of salvation for first the Old, then the New, Israel. To take one example, Irenaeus is fond of speaking about human history in terms of covenant theology and sums up the divine plan through two, or sometimes four, covenant arrangements from God for the salvation of men [1]. Tertullian reflects the same pattern: two covenants exist in redemptive history, he insists in opposition to Marcion, but the New Covenant under Christ is superior [2]. Origen likewise uses *oikonomia* for both the earlier ordering of salvation and the new covenant arrangement transferred to Christians [3]. Most other fathers in the third and fourth centuries employ the term for the redemptive arrangements made in a covenant by God as part of his salvation plan. G. L. Prestige's study of the word, based on material gathered for the long-promised Oxford *Dictionary of Patristic Greek* and made available in his book *God in Patristic Thought*, rightly concludes that *oikonomia* meant for the fathers "above all . . . the covenanted dispensation of grace" in the Old Testament or through Christ [4].

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[1] Of the other New Testament uses, besides those cited above, Luke xvi 2-4 gives the usual classical sense, the office of the *oikonomos*, and 1 Tim. i 4 seems to expand on the sense found in Paul and Ephesians (RSV, "the divine training that is in faith", or "stewardship", or "order").

[2] C. Leslie Mitton, *The Epistle to the Ephesians* (Oxford, 1951), p. 93.

[3] Ign. *Eph.* 20, 1: οἰκονομία εἰς τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. 18, 2: ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκυοφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαβίδ, πνεύματος δὲ ἁγίου.

Oikonomia thus amounted to what is today called *Heilsgeschichte*, and a number of writers, like Cullmann in *Christ and Time*, and most of the authors of histories of doctrine, including Harnack, Loofs, Seeberg, Walter Koehler, and Martin Werner, suggest this equation [5]. Further, in this *heilsgeschichtlich* type of thought, since *oikonomia* was brought into intimate association with the covenants through which God is held to have worked out his salvation, it became virtually interchangeable with the word "covenant" itself, διαθήκη. Again this use of *oikonomia*, for *diathēkē*, has not escaped the notice of patristic lexicographers.

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[1] *Adv. Haer.* 3, 10, 5; 11, 8; 12, 15; 4, 9, 1; 20, 10. Cf. Robert V. Moss, *The Covenant Concept in Early Christian Thought* (microfilmed dissertation; Chicago: the University of Chicago, 1954).

[2] E.g., *Adv. Marc.* 4, 1; 5, 4.

[3] *C. Cels.* 4, 8 and 9; 5, 50; *Comm. in Ioan.* 6, 44.

[4] *God in Patristic Thought* (2nd ed.; London: SPCK, 1952), p. 64.

[5] O. Cullmann, *Christ and Time* (Eng. tr., Philadelphia, 1950), especially Part I, "The Continuous Redemptive Line, οἰκονομία," 33 ff. Adolf von Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (3rd ed.; Freiburg and Leipzig, 1894-97), 1, 520 (Eng. tr., *History of Dogma* (Boston, 1903-07), 2, 243 f.). F. Loofs, *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte* (4th ed.; Halle, 1906), 98 ff., especially the discussion on "Asia Minor theology". R. Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (3rd ed.; Leipzig, 1922-23), 1, 421 f., and 395 and 399 f. (Eng. tr., *Textbook of the History of Doctrines* (Grand Rapids, 1954), 123 f.). W. Koehler, *Dogmengeschichte als Geschichte des christlichen Selbstbewusstseins* (2nd ed.; Zürich and Leipzig, 1943), 139, 143. M. Werner, *Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas problemgeschichtlich dargestellt* (2nd ed.; Bern and Leipzig, 1953), 34, 367, note 92, and 564, note 13.

PRESTIGE writes, "economy in such contexts [as those noted above] means simply dispensation or covenant" [1]), and R. B. TOLLINTON, in a study on Clement of Alexandria, observes that on many occasions *diathēkē* and *oikonomia* are hardly distinguishable in that father [2]). *Oikonomia* was thus a patristic term for *Heilsgeschichte*, intimately associated with the covenants in salvation history.

Such use of *oikonomia* for God's redemptive arrangements or management of a salvation plan should occasion no surprise, since *oikonomia* was employed in the first century world about as commonly and with as many applications as our word "administration". Nor should its use as an equivalent for *diathēkē*, "covenant", "will", or "testament", be unexpected either, though any exact reason for equation of the two terms in the fathers has not been pointed out by patristic investigators to date. From the company which *oikonomia* had been keeping in Greek for the past two or three centuries, however, precisely this sort of equation with *diathēkē* follows naturally [3]). The purpose of this note is to call attention to a piece of evidence not previously reported on, a papyrus text of the late second century A.D., where *oikonomia* is used directly for *diathēkē*, and then to offer some suggestions, on the basis of this linguistic evidence, with regard to patristic, and perhaps New Testament, usage of the term.

There is, first of all, the fact that *oikonomia* and related terms derived from οἰκονομεῖν, to "arrange" or "manage", were a part of the technical jargon in political and commercial affairs of the Hellenistic and Roman periods [4]). The noun *oikonomia* could refer to all sorts of legal arrangements, usually of an economic, financial nature, and often under supervision of a governmental administrative agency [5]). Examples are almost too numerous to cite, occurring in connection with tax collection, sale of land, purchase or rental of property, census registration, and encumbrances on property [1]. Hence the general definition, "any legal step or arrangement", "every measure with legally binding effect", offered for *oikonomia* by PREISIGKE's dictionary for technical terms in the papyri concerning public administration in Ptolemaic-Roman Egypt, is quite correct [2].

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[1]) *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

[2]) R. B. TOLLINTON, *Clement of Alexandria: A Study in Christian Liberalism* (London, 1914), 2, 205.

[3]) I have analyzed many of the numerous meanings for the word during this period in a doctoral dissertation, "The Use of *oikonomia* and Related Terms in Greek Sources to about A.D. 100, as a Background for Patristic Applications", completed in May, 1957, under the direction of Dr MORTON S. ENSLIN at the University of Pennsylvania (657 pages; on microfilm, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, $ 8.35).

[4]) E.g., Polyb. 4, 26, 6; 24, 1, 7; 1, 8, 3: W. DITTENBERGER, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* (Leipzig, 1903-05), Number 322, lines 11 ff. (Vol. 1, p. 495), or 453, 19 (= *CIG* 2737a, 20).

[5]) E.g., Polyb. 10, 1, 5; *OGIS* 267, 6 f.; W. DITTENBERGER, *Sylloge*

It is next to be observed that *oikonomia* was sometimes applied not just to the legal arrangement but also to the document itself recording its terms, the "stipulated agreement or record", PREISIGKE puts it; "contract", "legal instrument", or "deed" all are possible renderings at times [3].

Almost inevitably, therefore, the terms under consideration appeared in wills or testaments. A third century B.C. papyrus uses the phrase, "It would be my right to administer my own affairs (or "make legal arrangements", τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ οἰκονομεῖν) while I am healthy" [4]. RAPHAEL TAUBENSCHLAG, in his study on *The Law of Graeco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri, 332 B.C.-640 A.D.*, records the general use of the noun *oikonomia* from the first century B.C. on in the sense of "agreement", and notes that it was employed alongside such other terms as συνάλλαγμα, συγγραφή, and συνθήκη [5]. Unfortunately he does not pursue use of *oikonomia* for this last term, συνθήκη, "compact" or "covenant", let alone the related noun διαθήκη, "will" or "covenant".

A papyrus text, however, which specifically uses *oikonomia* for the last will and testament (διαθήκη) of a Roman citizen occurs in an account of legal cases heard by a *stratēgos* in the Faiyum, Egypt. Dated May 26, A.D. 184, it is printed in the collection

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Inscriptionum Graecarum (2nd ed.; Leipzig, 1898-1901), 577, 9 f. (Vol. 2, p. 72); further, *OGIS*, 46, 13 ff., or 179, 7 ff.

[1] Cf. L. MITTEIS and U. WILCKEN, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrusurkunde* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1912), 2, 1, 73, note 4. E.g., *PTeb.* 1, 8, 28; 30, 18; 31, 18; *PLondon* 1164, 7; 904, 25; *PRainer* 64, 22.

[2] F. PREISIGKE, *Fachwörter des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienstes Ägyptens in den griechischen Papyrusurkunden der ptolemäisch-römischen Zeit* (Göttingen, 1915), p. 132.

[3] *Ibid.*, meaning Number 2. Cf. H. G. LIDDELL and R. SCOTT, *Greek-English Lexicon* (9th ed., revised by H. STUART JONES and R. MCKENZIE; Oxford, 1925-40), *sub voce* οἰκονομία. Examples: *POxy.* 12, 1474, 7; *BGU* 301, 14 f.; *PMich.* 5, 276, 11, 27, and 35; 3, 186, 11; 2, 121, recto II, IX, 3.

[4] *The Flinders Petrie Papyri* (Dublin, 1891-1905), 1, 18, 1, 8.

[5] New York: Herald Square Press, Inc., 1944, p. 224.

Ägyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden, Number 321, Column II, line 10, through III, 20, after which the lines are broken and unintelligible 1)). The actual use of οἰκονομία for διαθήκη occurs at Column III, line 2.

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1)) Berlin, 1892- . In addition to the obvious necessary corrections made by the editor, Fr. Krebs, two conjectural readings are made by Wilcken in *BGU*, Vol. 1, p. 359. The text and my own translation follow.

10 Ἄλλου ὁμοίως ἐξ ὑπομνηματισμῶν
  Ἀπολλωνίου στρ(ατηγοῦ) Ἡρακλ(είδου) μερίδος, κδϧ Παῦνι α̅.
Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Σεβαστῇ ἀγορᾷ βήματος προσ-
ελθόντος Κασίου τοῦ καὶ ἡγουμένου Ἀντινο-
έως, παρόντος Ἰσιδώρου Τιβερίνου ἀφήλι-
15 κος, συνόντος αὐτοῦ [l. αὐτῷ] Λογγείνου Χαιρημο-
νιανοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὁμομητρίου καὶ ἐγδίκου,
Φιλώτας ῥήτωρ ὑπὲρ Κασίου εἶπεν· Συγγε-
νὴς τοῦ ἡμετέρου μέλλων τελευτᾶν τ[ὸν]
βίον Ρωμαῖος ὢν διαθήκην γράψας μετ[ε]-
20 πέμψατο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐδεήθη αὐτοῦ ταύτην
ἔχειν παρ' ἑαυτῷ, ἐντειλάμενος, ἐπὰν [l. ἐπεὰν] τε-
λευτήσῃ, προκομίσαι καὶ ἀξιῶσαι λύ[εσθ]αι,
ἵνα τὸ βούλημα αὐτοῦ φανερὸν γέ̣[ν]ηται. [Τ]ε-
λευτήσαντος οὖν ἐκείνου προσῆλθεν τ̣[οῖς]
25 σφραγισταῖς, ἀξιῶν αὐτοὺς παρὰ λύ[σιν] [or παρα[τ]υχε[ῖν]],
ὅπως τὰ ἀκόλουθα γένηται. Ἐπεὶ δὲ [το]ῦ̣τ̣ο̣
οὐκ ἐποίουν, ἴσως κωλυόμενοι ὑπό τι̣ν̣ων,
ἀναγκαίως ἐνέτυχεν σοί, ἀξ[ι]ῶν̣ αὐτο[ὺς]
μεταπεμφθῆναι, ὑποδικνὺς [l. ὑποδεικνὺς] ὅτι α[ὐτῷ]
30 πρόστιμον ὡρίσθη, ἐπὰν [l. ἐπεὰν] διαθήκη ἄλυ̣[τος]

Col. III

μείνῃ, καὶ σὺ ἀκόλουθα ποιῶν μετεπέμψω αὐτούς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάρε̣ι̣σ̣[ιν]
ἐξ αὐτῶν τέσσαρες, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁ νομικὸς ὁ τὴν οἰκονομίαν γράψας, [. . .]
[. . τ]ὴν διαθήκην ἐπιφέρων τοὺς [l. τοῦ] συγγενοῦς κατὰ τὰς ἐκε[ίν]ου . . το[. . .]
ταύτην λυθῆναι. Εἰ δέ τις βούλεται πρὸ τῆς λύσεως πρὸς τὴν [διαθήκην]
5 [λ]έγειν, χ̣ώραν οὐκ ἔχ̣ει, οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος, τί ἐκεῖνος ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπ. [. . . . . . .]
Λόγγος ῥήτωρ ἀπεκρείνατο· Ὁ ἀντίδικος δεδοικὼ[ς . . . .] . . μα[. . . λύ]-
σεως παρέρχ̣εται καί φησιν διαθήκην εἰληφέναι παρὰ συ̣γγε̣ν̣[οῦς αὐ]-
τοῦ, ἥνπερ ἐπιφέρειν βούλεται, καὶ ὅτι [μὲ]ν συγγενὴς ἑαυτοῦ ἐ[κεῖνος]
οὐκ ἔστιν ἐντεῦθεν διαβεβαιοῦμαι. Τελευτήσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ Τα[σεὺς],
10 δούλη τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἀφήλικος, πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐβάστ[ασεν],
ὅπερ μαθὼν ὁ ὁμομήτριος ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ πρόσε[ι]σιν ἐγδικ[άσων]
αὐτόν. Καὶ περὶ τῆς διαθήκης δὲ ἀποκρείνομαι, ὅτι ἐν πάσαις τ[αῖς δια]-
θήκαις ἑπτά εἰσιν σφραγισταί. Εἰ οὖν ἐκῖ ἐν̣ ταύτῃ ἑπτὰ ἐ̣σ̣[φράγι]-
σαν, ἡκέστωσαν καὶ τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτῶν πρότερον ἐπιγν[ώτω]-
15 σαν. Εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ τέσσαρες ἐνθάδε εἰσὶ καὶ νομικὸ[ς . . . βή?]-
μ̣ατος ἔρχεται ἀξιῶν λυθῆναι τὴν διαθήκην, οὐκ ἐν ὀλίγῃ ὑπ[οψίᾳ]
γε[ί]νομαι. Ἀπολλωνιανὸς ῥήτωρ π̣ρ̣[οσ]έθηκεν· Ὅτι ὁ ἀντιδίκ[ος . .]
π[. . .]ηλησεν̣ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, ἐὰν μεταμέμψῃ Κρονοῦν θεράπ[οντα]
αὐτοῦ, μαρτυρήσει ὅτι ἡ Τασεὺς σύνερ[γ]ος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο [καὶ πάν]-
20 τ̣α̣ ἅ̣μα αὐτῷ ὑφείλε̣[τ]ο̣, κ[αὶ] περὶ τῆς διαθήκης δὲ λέγω ὅτ[ι . . .]

The case, "out of the records of Apollonios, magistrate of the section of Herakleidos", deals with a dispute over whether a will (διαθήκη, the term occurs at least six times in the incomplete papyrus) which is being presented for probate is genuine or not. While some of the details of the situation are uncertain, due to brevity and the fragmentary text, it appears that one Kasios claims to have received a will from a kinsman who was about to die.

> "Another case, likewise out of the records of Apollonius, *stratēgos* of the section of Herakleidos, year 24, Payni 1 [May 26, A.D. 184]. When Kasios, who is also Hegoumenos, from Antinoeus, had come forward to the rostra in the market place of Augustus, Isidoros Tiberinos, a minor, being present, Longinos Chairēmonianos, his brother by the same mother and mandatary being present with him, Philotas, the orator for Kasios, said: 'A kinsman of our [client], when he was about to end his life, being a Roman, after that he had written a will, summoned him [our client] and begged him to have this will from him, enjoining him that, when he died, he should produce the will and petition to have it probated, in order that his final disposition might become manifest. When that man died therefore, he went to the "sealers" [i.e., the witnesses who had placed their seals on the document], petitioning them [sc. to act] in accordance with the opening [of the document; or, better, with WILCKEN's conjecture παρα[τ]υχε[ῖν], to happen to be present], in order that the various consequent steps might take place. But since they were consistently not doing this, perhaps because they were being prevented by some, he was forced to appeal to you, petitioning them to be summoned, claiming that the award had been appointed to him [F. PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (Berlin, 1925-31), 2, 415, reads αὐτοῖς, "claiming that the penalty for delay had been appointed for them"] since the will remains irrevocable, [Col. III] and you, carrying out the consequent steps, did summon them. And since there are present four of them, and in addition also the notary who wrote the document, ... bringing forth the will of the kinsman in accordance with the ... of that man ... that this [the will] be opened. But if someone wishes, before the unsealing, to address himself to the will, he is in no position to do so, because he does not know what that man [sc. said ?] in it ...'.
>
> "Longos the orator answered, 'The opponent, in fear ... of the opening takes the stand and says that he received from his kinsman the will which he wishes to produce, and I assert that that man is not his kinsman. But when he died, Taseus, a slave (girl) of the father of the minor, took away all the things in the house; upon learning this, his brother, born of the same mother, approaches, to prosecute him [PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch, op. cit.*, 1, 442, reads αὐτήν, "the thieving slave girl"—thus his brother comes to prosecute her]. And also concerning the will, I answer that in all wills there are seven sealers. If therefore there in this one seven men sealed it, let them come forward and let them identify their seals first. But if, of the seven sealers, four are here and the notary, ... he comes to the rostra, demanding the will be opened, I am suspicious to no small degree'.
>
> "Apollōnianos the orator added his reply: 'That the opponent ... the things in the house, if you summon Kronos his attendant, he will testify that Taseus was his fellow-worker and took away everything together with him, and also concerning the will I say ...' ".

Subsequent difficulty over putting into effect this will of the deceased which Kasios presents has brought the case before the *stratēgos.*

Part of the controversy centers around the seals of the seven witnesses required for a will by Roman law, a detail found in the Praetorian testament of the Republican period and reported by most handbooks, according to which the will had to be sealed seven times in order to be authenticated, and according to which, further, the will could not be carried into effect until all seven seals were loosed [1]. Apparently in the case under consideration, only four of these seven witnesses who had sealed the document which Kasios had were able to appear at the hearing before the *stratēgos,* plus the notary who had originally written the will. The opponents of Kasios dispute the authenticity of the document being presented, cast doubt on whether Kasios got it from the deceased, and question even whether the two men were kinsmen.

The important phrase with which we are concerned comes when the counsel for Kasios notes that of the witnesses who placed their seals on his client's document, "four of them are present, and in addition also the lawyer who wrote the document" (or "legal agreement", πάρε̣ι̣σ̣[ιν] ἐξ αὐτῶν τέσσαρες, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁ νομικὸς ὁ τὴν οἰκονομίαν γράψας, Col. III, lines 1-2). Application of the term "document" (οἰκονομία) here to a will is unmistakable, not only from the total context, but also because the noun διαθήκη occurs in the next line, in the preceding sentence, and in the next paragraph in the reply of an opposing orator. Thus quite clearly in the year A.D. 184, and presumably for sometime before, the noun *oikonomia,* long applied to legal arrangements of all sorts, was used specifically for a *diathēkē,* the last will and testament of a Roman citizen, the covenant sealed with seven seals disposing of his property.

From this example it would appear that Christian usage of *oikonomia* for a covenant or will, *diathēkē,* was, here as elsewhere, following already established secular application, a legal or at least popular meaning for the term, documented in the second century. While no earlier examples can now be cited where *oikonomia* demands the specific translation "will" or "covenant", it is not impossible that the application was made far earlier, judging from the varied ways in which the term is employed in the papyri of the period.

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[1] W. Smith, W. Wayte, and G. E. Martin, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (3rd ed.; London, 1891), 2, 803 f. H. J. Roby, *Roman Private Law in the Times of Cicero and of the Antonines* (Cambridge, 1902), 1, 255, note 2. W. W. Buckland, *The Main Institutions of Roman Private Law* (Cambridge, 1931), 184 f.

At the least, it is certain, *oikonomia* was being used for *diathēkē* in every-day Greek at precisely the time Irenaeus was employing *oikonomia* to refer to the covenants (διαθῆκαι), testaments or legal arrangements in a will, by God or Christ, to distribute goods to men. Theological terminology followed existing secular usage. We may also speculate that, while, it is true, the covenant concept in the fathers was not always free from legalistic character, nonetheless a theologian like Irenaeus may have preferred *oikonomia* to *diathēkē* at times, precisely because it was a more general term of wider associations in secular use, without the specifically legal connotations of *diathēkē* [1]).

Beyond this, allowing the possibility that *oikonomia* may have been used much earlier, in its wide range of first century associations, to refer to a *diathēkē* and that it is a mere statistical accident that we lack a text to date demonstrating this equation, we then open the way toward seeing new connotations for this term in Christian use. Through this link (*oikonomia* — covenant), the theme of a divine plan of salvation or economy of God, increasingly important from Ephesians on, perhaps as a substitute for earlier central themes like the Kingdom of God, which, however, were subject to misunderstanding in the gentile world [2]), is brought

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[1]) Some of these wider associations of *oikonomia* are documented in my dissertation (*supra*, p. 284, note 3), 306 ff., but almost any lexicon gives some idea of the bewildering variety of meanings for the term.

[2]) The βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ which Jesus comes preaching means, of course, the reign or rule or kingship of God, rather than any sort of kingdom in the geographical sense of the word. It is the Old Testament theme, "Yahweh reigns", now conceived of as breaking through in the last times, heralded and ushered in by the person of Jesus (cf. Mark i 14-15). It is well known that this emphasis on the Kingdom of God (or Kingdom of *Heaven*, Matthew) is common in the Synoptics, but is less frequent in Paul (where the stress is on the δικαιοσύνη τοῦ θεοῦ and other themes), is reinterpreted in John along lines of eternal life (ζωή), and crops up in the creeds of the early church in the formula, "Jesus Christ is Lord" (Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς κύριος).

Thus the phrase "Kingdom of God" certainly becomes more peripheral in later New Testament writings and in the fathers as compared with the Synoptic Gospels, though it is a mistake to suppose the term and concept were lost entirely; cf. K. L. SCHMIDT, βασιλεία (τοῦ θεοῦ) in der alten Kirche", in G. KITTEL, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (Stuttgart, 1933-), I, 593-95; R. FRICK, *Die Geschichte des Reich-Gottes-Gedankens in der alten* into a closer relationship with the covenant theology of the Old Testament and of Paul. *Oikonomia*, a patristic term for *Heilsgeschichte*, was thus able to convey much of the covenant idea in biblical thought, plus more besides, including the whole Stoic conception of a divine administration or rule of God in the universe [1]. Another detail is also worth considering with regard to the flexibility of meanings which this word possessed: the fact that in every-day Greek, *oikonomia* could mean a *written* will or covenant, a document, perhaps encouraged application of the term *diathēkē* to the scriptures, a usage found as early as Melito of Sardis, for the documents recording the divine economy [2].

One final observation. In the papyrus passage, the *oikonomia* or *diathēkē* was a will fastened with seven seals, following Roman custom. The detail immediately suggests the scroll with seven seals mentioned at Rev. v [3]. That scroll has to do with God's will for the last times, and can be put into effect only by the true witness, Jesus Christ, who alone is worthy to break its seals. In the

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Kirche bis zum Origenes und Augustin (Giessen, 1928); and G. W. H. LAMPE, "Some Notes on the Significance of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ in the Greek Fathers", *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 48 (1948), 58-73. Origen, interestingly, in a comment on Luke iv 5, uses οἰκονομία for βασιλεία, *Homily on Luke* 30 (*GCS* 35 (Origenes 9), 184, 19).

It is obvious why the Kingdom of God theme, so central in Jesus' teachings according to the Synoptics, might be reinterpreted along other lines in later writers, in addition to the matter of comprehensibility, which a shift from Palestine, with its Old Testament, Hebraistic background of the reign of Yahweh, it was necessary to avoid the political subversive tag which street-preaching about a βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ in the Graeco-Roman world would have brought on the young church even more often than did occur. There is enough similarity between the βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ and οἰκονομία τοῦ θεοῦ motifs to warrant further investigation of the subject.

[1] On οἰκονομία as the divine economy in the universe according to Stoicism, see already the evidence cited in H. A. DANIEL, *Tatianus der Apologet: Ein Beitrag zum Dogmengeschichte* (Halle, 1837). Curiously, the fourfold analysis of classical meanings for *oikonomia* given by T. L. VERHOEVEN, *Studiën over Tertullianus' Adversus Praxean* (Amsterdam, 1948) does not list this, though at times VERHOEVEN indicates an awareness of the meaning for the word, e.g., 118, 123, 136. Numerous examples occur in the Stoic fragments edited by J. VON ARNIM, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1905-24), e.g., 2, 273, 28 (*frag.* 945); 2, 269, 4 (*frag.* 937); 2, 338, 9 (*frag.* 1176). K. L. SCHMIDT (*supra*, p. 289, note 2), 1, 595, even suggests that the apologists and Clement of Alexandria understood the Kingdom on the basis of Stoic definitions.

[2] Cf. Euseb. *Ecc. Hist.* 4, 26, 13 and Iren. *Adv. Haer.* 4, 26, 2.

[3] Rev. v 1: βιβλίον γεγραμμένον ἔσωθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν, κατεσφραγισμένον σφραγῖσιν ἑπτά.

Apocalypse, as he opens each seal, some portentous event takes place, having to do with the denouement of God's scheme for the world and men.

Several commentators, including JOHANNES WEISS, SELWYN, ZAHN, MOFFATT, BOUSSET, and LOHMEYER, note a parallel between Rev. v and this Roman legal custom, R. H. CHARLES writing that the book with the seven seals "represents a Will or Testament relating to the Old and New Testament Covenant" [1]. The book with the seven seals is thus a device to dramatize the disposition or will of God for the last times, which Christ puts into effect. There is thus a combination of *Heilsgeschichte* and eschatology.

It has been shown that in later secular Greek use *oikonomia* was employed for just such a testament with seven seals. John the seer does not, of course, apply this word *oikonomia* to the scroll he describes with details which normally fit a Roman will or testament. But later writers among the fathers would have known this secular Greek use and could therefore the more readily employ the word *oikonomia* for a *diathēkē* from God in redemptive history, implying at the same time from this general background that God's *oikonomia* also includes his plan for the last times; eschatology too is seen within the covenant framework of *Heilsgeschichte*. Strikingly, Irenaeus who emphasizes a covenant theology and *heilsgeschichtlich* view of history also stresses eschatology, and hangs on to some of the primitive emphases of the Apocalypse, like the millenium [2]. *Heilsgeschichte*, covenant theology, and eschatology fit a pattern, all related in one way or another with the term *oikonomia*. Secular application of this term to a testament with seven seals thus suggests that in patristic passages where *oikonomia* may be employed for a covenant or covenanted dispensation of grace, one may look for legalistic or eschatological connotations at times, as well as the usual *heilsgeschichtlich* ones.

How much of all this is to be applied to New Testament uses of the word will depend, of course, upon discovery of earlier examples of the equation between οἰκονομία and διαθήκη, and also upon just what is made of the date and authorship of Ephesians, whose gifted writer put patristic Christianity on the trail of one of its most important themes, the economy of God.

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[1] *The Revelation of St. John* (New York, 1920), 1, 137 f. Cf. *The Expositor's Greek Testament* (Grand Rapids, 1951), 5, 383; W. BOUSSET, *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (Göttingen, 1906), 255, note 1; and E. LOHMEYER, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Tübingen, 1926), 50.

[2] CULLMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff., sees an affinity between an *oikonomia* type of theology and apocalyptic. Cf. also E. DINKLER, "Earliest Christianity", in *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East* (American Oriental Series, 38; New Haven, 1955), 197 ff.

THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS AND THE ADHERENTS OF THE ISIS CULT AT ROME A.D. 19

BY

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1. *The Isic Cult in Rome.* — The worship of the Egyptian goddess Isis was spread throughout the Mediterranean world by sailors and merchants [1]. It reached Syracuse at the beginning of the third century B.C. During the year 105 B.C. the municipality of Pozzuoli decided to perform certain types of work in front of the local Serapeum [2]. During the time of Sulla a college of *pastophori* was founded in Rome [3]. There the cult was very persistent, in spite of repeated attempts to suppress it. Between the years 59 and 48 B.C., the Senate issued five different orders to tear down the altars and statues of the cult (in 59, 58, 53, and 48).

The edict of 59 was conjectured by J. ZIEHEN on the basis of a textual emendation in Cicero. He changed the passage: *iacet enim ille sic ut phocis Curiana stare videatur* [4], into: *ut prae hoc Isis Curiana stare videatur.* ZIEHEN believes that the official campaign against the Egyptian cult was accompanied by private demonstrations, resulting in attacks on Isis believers and the destruction of statues and altars, and that some act of this kind may have caused a public scandal:

> ...vielleicht hatte die heimliche Zerstörung eines Isisbildes im Frühjahr 59 gerade Anlass zu öffentlichem Skandal gegeben, so dass der Fall eine ephemere Sprichwörtlichkeit erlangte; wir können dann wohl verstehen, wenn Cicero von Pompeius schreibt: *iacet ille sic, ut prae hoc Isis Curiana stare videatur* [5].

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[1] F. CUMONT, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (New York: Dover, 1956), p. 79.

[2] *C.I.L.* X, 1781, I, 15-16. J. BUREL, *Isis et Isiaques sous l'Empire romain* (Paris: Bloud, 1911), p. 5.

[3] APULEIUS, *Metamorphoses* xi, 30.

[4] CICERO, *Ad Att.* ii, 17, 2.

[5] J. ZIEHEN, "Ein Ciceronianum zur Geschichte des Isiskultes in Rom". *Hermes*, 33 (1898), pp. 341 f.

This textual emendation and interpretation is accepted by O. SEECK [1], who adds some further evidence from Tertullian [2], according to which the altars of the Egyptian divinities had been destroyed, on order of the Senate, before the consulate of Gabinius, i.e. not later than 59 B.C., but later had been restored by the mobs. When Gabinius took office, the populace demanded a declaration of him in favor of the Isis cult, but the consul refused. Evidently, his successors in office were less steadfast, for five years later, in 53 B.C., a new decree against the cult was issued by the Senate.

SEECK explains the name of Isis Curiana from the name of its probable donor, Quintus Curius, who in 70 B.C. was expelled from the Senate and who later became an associate of Catilina. This would agree with the testimony of Dio Cassius, according to which the oldest sanctuaries of the Egyptian divinities in Rome were established by private persons [3].

After Caesar's death, the triumvirs decided in 43 B.C. to erect a temple of Isis, "undoubtedly to gain the favor of the masses" [4], but nothing came of it. The Alexandrian divinities were associated with the name of Antony, who had shown himself an enemy of the Roman people and state. Furthermore, Octavian was on principle opposed to the foreign cults. His religious attitude found its expression not only in the prohibition of foreign rites [5], but also in an active support of the native religion, as evidenced in the Augustan Revival, for which Horace composed his *Carmen Saeculare.*

2. *The Persecution of A.D.* 19. — In A.D. 19 Tiberius once more suppressed the Isis cult. Our main source for this persecution is Tacitus, who at the end of his discussion of the events of that year speaks of the Egyptian and Jewish rites:

> Actum et de sacris Aegyptiis Iudaicisque pellendis factumque patrum consultum ut quattuor milia libertini generis ea superstitione infecta quis idonea aetas in insulam Sardiniam veherentur, coercendis illic latrociniis et, si ob gravitatem caeli interissent, vile damnum; ceteri cederent Italia nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exuissent [6].

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[1] O. SEECK, "Zur Geschichte des Isiskultus in Rom", *Hermes*, 43, (1908), pp. 642 f.

[2] TERTULLIAN, *Ad Nat.* i, 10.

[3] DIO CASSIUS xl, 47, 3.

[4] CUMONT, p. 82.

[5] In 28 B.C. the erection of altars to Alexandrian gods was forbidden inside the boundaries of the *pomerium*. In 21 B.C. Agrippa extended the prohibited area to a radius of a thousand steps around the city of Rome.

[6] TACITUS, *Annales* ii, 85.

Tertullian discusses the suppression of the Isis cult in connection with the immoral practices in Rome and the neglect of the ancient virtues [1]. This persecution is also mentioned by Dio Cassius [2] and Suetonius:

> Externas caerimonias, Aegyptios Iudaicosque ritus compescuit coactis qui superstitione ea tenebantur religiosas vestes cum instrumento omni comburere. Iudaeorum iuventutem per speciem sacramenti in provincias gravioris caeli distribuit, reliquos gentis eiusdem vel similia sectantes urbe summovit, sub poena perpetuae servitutis nisi obtemperassent. Expulit et mathematicos, sed deprecantibus ac se artem desituros promittentibus veniam dedit [3].

Two main factors need mentioning that are common to all of these accounts of the religious suppression of A.D. 19: (1) it took place obviously on moral grounds, and (2) it affected not only the adherents of Isis, but also the Jews and, according to Suetonius, the astrologers.

That the Isis cult was an insult to Roman decency was something like a commonplace. This view has influenced students of religion and history down to the present time:

> In the first place, this cult was said to exercise a corrupting influence perversive of piety. Its morals were loose, and the mystery surrounding it excited the worst suspicions. Moreover, it appealed violently to the emotions and senses. All these factors offended the grave decency that a Roman was wont to maintain in the presence of the gods. The innovators had every defender of the *mos maiorum* for an adversary.
>
> In the second place, this religion had been founded, supported and propagated by the Ptolemies; it came from a country that was almost hostile to Italy during the last period of the republic: it issued from Alexandria, whose superiority Rome felt and feared. Its secret societies, made up chiefly of people of the lower classes, might easily become clubs of agitators and haunts of spies. All these motives for suspicion and hatred were undoubtedly more potent in exiting persecution than the purely theological reasons, and persecution was stopped or renewed according to the vicissitudes of general politics [4].

CUMONT's last observation deserves special emphasis. It is mostly as an instrument of politics that religion was of importance to the Roman ruling classes. The student gets the impression that the moral aspects were sometimes used only as a means of getting the great masses interested in the issue involved. Practically all Roman persecutions of religious groups were based upon moral considerations; and this is true also for both Christians and Jews. Ovid advises the dandies of his time that they could find pleasant company either at the Jewish synagogue or at the temple of Isis [1]. It has generally been admitted that these accusations against Jews and Christians are completely unfounded. No one would accept the report that Fronto, consul A.D. 143, gives of a Christian gathering, viz. a time and place where "haphazard embraces of shameful desire take place in the shameful darkness" [2]. And no one would accept the testimony of Ovid, who was probably quite well informed in such matters, that the Jewish synagogue was an assembly place of prostitutes.

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[1] TERTULLIAN, *Apol.* xvi.

[2] DIO CASSIUS xl, 47, 3; xlii, 26, 5.

[3] SUETONIUS, *Tiberius* 36.

[4] CUMONT, pp. 81 ff.

But the French scholar G. Lafaye asks a very disturbing question. After referring to the passage in Ovid he says: "Dirons-nous donc que les pieuses assemblies du sabat étaient des foyers de corruption? Et si nous admittons sans examen que les juifs étaient audessus de pereilles calumnies, pour quoi ne ferions-nous pas bénéficier les Alexandrins de la même indulgence?" [3].

A brief study of historiographical methods may not be able to answer a question like this, but it might contribute some points of consideration which should prove useful for a study of wider scope. The procedure followed by Flavius Josephus in his discussion of the religious persecution of A.D. 19 is instructive.

3. *Joseph and the Suppression of the Isis Cult of A.D.* 19. — When coming from the reading of Tacitus, Suetonius, and Tertullian, the reader of Josephus is immediately impressed by the fact that the account is divided into two different episodes, separated by an editorial phrase which seems to indicate that the author wants to demonstrate a difference between the two narratives [4].

Josephus deals first with the suppression of the Isis cult. He admits that both incidents occurred at the same time, but it is important to notice the different terms with which he mentions them in his account. The suppression of the Jews is called a ἕτερόν τι δεινόν which upset the Jewish community, while with reference to the Isis cult he says αἰσχυνῶν οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμέναι πράξεις. Then follows the famous Paulina Story [5].

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[1] Ovid, *Ars amandi* i, 77.

[2] R. M. Grant, *The Sword and the Cross* (New York: Macmillan, 1955), p. 76.

[3] G. Lafaye, *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie* (Paris: E. Thorin, 1883), p. 55.

[4] ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀφήγησιν τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον συντυχόντων, ὥς μοι καὶ προαπεσήμησεν ὁ λόγος. *Ant.* xviii, 80.

[5] *Ant.* xviii, 66-80.

According to THACKERAY, the passage concerned belongs to that long section (books xvii to xix) which were composed mainly by the "Thucydidean hack" [1]. The same author maintains that these books show the following outstanding characteristics: "(1) free plagiarism from Thucydides and (2) certain mannerisms of [their] own, in which [the author] seems to be trying his hand at imitating, without really copying, his great model" [2].

Indeed, the passage does contain a number of peculiarities. One of the phrases constantly recurring in these books is ἡδονῇ δέχεσθαι and it is also found in our section [3].

A phrase otherwise not found in Josephus occurs no less than fifteen times in these three books and is also present in the Paulina narrative. Based on Thucydides i, 138 (κρῖναι ἱκανῶς οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο), forms like οὐκ (μὴ) ἀπηλλαγμένος (ἤλλακτο etc.) with the infinitive, and meaning 'not averse from, not undisposed or unable to' or similar are frequent [4]. In the Paulina narrative the following instances occur:

> xviii, 65 — πράξεις αἰσχυνῶν οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμέναι.
> 68 — πράσσειν οὐκ ἀπηλλάσσετο.

This latter phrase contains another characteristic: the usual spelling of πράσσειν in Josephus is the so-called Attic double-τ: πράττειν. It is only in books xvii to xix of the *Antiquities* that one finds the Thucydidean spelling with double σ: πράσσειν.

Thucydides in iii, 38, 7 has the phrase ἀκοῆς ἡδονῇ ἡσσώμενοι which is echoed in the expression ἔρωτι αὐτῆς ἡσσημένου, again in the Thucydidean spelling [5].

Over against these agreements with THACKERAY's theory it has to be noted that some of the most frequent mannerisms of this 'hack' are absent from the passage under discussion, the most notable one being the relative pronoun ὁπόσος instead of the usual ὅσος, which, according to THACKERAY, occurs more than a hundred times in the three books mentioned.

An argument from silence is always dangerous, and in the present case it would be hardly legitimate. The evidence points in the direction of THACKERAY's theory that the eighteenth book of the *Antiquities*, including the Paulina story, is part of the work of the Thucydidean hack.

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[1] H. ST. J. THACKERAY, *Josephus, the Man and the Historian* (New York: Jewish Institute of Religion Press, 1929), p. 110.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] xviii, 70.

[4] H. ST. J. THACKERAY, *A Lexicon to Josephus* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1930), p. 59.

[5] Cf. vii, 25, 9: τῇ σφετέρᾳ ταραχῃ ἡσσηδεῖεν.

The Paulina incident, as recorded in *Antiquities*, contains a number of interesting features. Above all, it is the only account of the suppression of the Isis cult in A.D. 19 which attempts to give a detailed record of the happenings which led the emperor to his stern verdict.

Just as in Livy's account of the prohibition of the Bacchanalia [1]), the driving force in the narrative is Eros. The heroine is a noble lady, excellent both on account of her social position and wealth and because of her undisputed virtue. Her opponent is a young man of means who does not mind spending a fortune for the pleasures of one night, but whose love is fervent enough to make him think of suicide when his plans seem to fail. His hopes are re-awakened by a freed-woman of his father, Ide, who is evidently a direct descendant of the plotting slaves in the New Comedy.

The place of the crime is the temple of Isis, where the priests assist in the plot. The deceit of Paulina itself is strongly reminiscent of the Nectanebos story [2]), a part of the cycle which forms the Alexander romance. The theme is the visit of a god with a mortal woman within the temple precincts. This idea formed the theological basis for the royal succession in Egypt [3]). Its application to Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great, was a convenient method of glossing over the complete, inglorious defeat suffered at the hands of the Macedonian conqueror. AUSFELD characterizes the Nectanebos of the romance as "gewandt und pfiffig aber ohne Würde und Ehrgefühl" [4]), and it would hardly appear unfair to apply the same description to Mundus or, rather, to Ide. Mundus makes one serious mistake: he boasts about the success of his trick before Paulina herself. The enraged matron tells everything to her husband, who informs the emperor. The priests of Isis are crucified, the temple is destroyed, Mundus exiled.

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[1]) LIVY, *Ab urbe condita* xxxix, 8-20.

[2]) M. PIEPER, *R.E.* xvi, 2238 f.; R. M. GRANT, *The Sword and the Cross*, p. 29; *Miracle and Natural Law in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Thought* (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company, 1952), p. 177.

[3]) E. NORDEN, *Die Geburt des Kindes* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1924), pp. 76-82.

[4]) A. AUSFELD, *Beiträge zur Kritik des Alexanderromans* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1907), p. 37.

It has already been pointed out that Josephus calls the Paulina incident a shameful affair. His whole attitude towards the cult and its representatives is hostile. He evidently accepts the popular notion that the Isis temple is a playground for the *demi-monde*. He goes even further: he involves the priests of the temple themselves in the plot. They are willing, for money, to desecrate their sanctuary and to make the place before the altar a brothel. Paulina is naive enough to believe the priests' invitation and even the god's appearance. She proudly tells her friends of her great experience. Here Josephus has another chance to apply his criticism: her friends are skeptical, in view of the reputation of the Isis temple, but even more amazed because of Paulina's well-known chastity. At this point, when Josephus has described the near success of the Paulina plot, he introduces the dramatic turn: Mundus himself destroys the myth.

There is no reason to doubt that Josephus approves of the action which Tiberius immediately takes. The imperial decree is the same as that mentioned in the other ancient sources, except that Josephus is careful to separate the banishment of the Jews from it.

The novelistic aspect of the story breaks through once more at its end: Tiberius banishes the author of all the trouble: Μοῦνδον δὲ φυγῆς ἐτίμησε, κώλυμα τοῦ μὴ μειζόνως κολάζειν τὸ μετὰ ἔρωτος αὐτῷ ἡρματῆσθαι τὰ ἡρμάτημα ἡγησάμενος [1].

If, as Tacitus, Suetonius, and Tertullian indicate, the emperor's action arose out of a desire to check the spread of immoral practices in Rome, it can hardly be supposed that he would spare a man who was guilty of a major crime of the meanest type towards a respected Roman matron. The argument that Mundus was a man of high rank [2] does not hold, because Tacitus explicitly reports that Tiberius called Titidius Labeo, a former pro-consul of Gallia Narbonensis [3], before court to explain why he had failed to punish his wife Vistilia who had registered as a public prostitute [4]. R. Grant correctly points out that this ending of the story is part of its novelistic character: "...nothing could be more alien to the policy of Tiberius than the singular moral given at the end. It suggests a view of *le crime passionel* not common in ancient Rome. Actually it reflects the view of life common enough in the Hellenistic romance" [1]). It might even be questioned whether Josephus (or his assistant) himself would subscribe to such an attitude, especially in view of the moralizing tone usually struck by him. Or did he intend to introduce a concealed criticism of the Roman system? Did he wish to indicate that a framework of justice which allows for such leniency towards criminals motivated by passion, compares unfavorably with the divine laws which form the legal basis of the Jewish nation? The evidence is insufficient to give a well-grounded answer to questions like this, which, nevertheless, indicate certain possible lines of thought.

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[1] *Ant.* xviii, 80.

[2] Δέκιος Μοῦνδος τῶν τότε ἱππέων ἐν ἀξιώματι μεγάλῳ, *Ant.* xviii, 67.

[3] Pliny, *H.N.* xxxv, 4.

[4] Tacitus, *Annales* ii, 85.

4. *Josephus and the Expulsion of the Jews from Rome in A.D.* 19. — The account of this event is given separately from that of the suppression of the Isis cult and found in *Antiquities* xviii 81-84.

Just as the preceding Paulina story, the Fulvia incident is ascribed by THACKERAY to the Thucydidean hack. The passage is only about one-fourth as long as the former one, and it would be difficult to find a large number of stylistic peculiarities in those four paragraphs. The following seem to be worth noting:

1. ἐπράσσετο in 82 follows the Thucydidean spelling that is standard for books xvii to xix.

2. In the writings of Josephus references to the Jewish people fall into two classes: (a) first person plural, (b) impersonal terms. It might be possible to argue that the references in class (a) indicate the hand of Josephus himself, while those in (b) are written by some other person, probably of non-Jewish origin. In our section we find the following terms: πᾶν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκόν (83), τῶν πατρίων νόμων (84) and ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς (81). These seem to indicate the hand of an author other than Josephus himself.

The villain of the story is a Jewish fugitive from the Law, a man evil in every respect. It is important to notice that he has been forced to leave his native country because he had transgressed the law: he is practically no longer a member of the Jewish community. With the help of three other shameless characters he persuades a Roman noble lady to give them purple and gold, to be delivered to the Temple in Jerusalem. As could be expected, the criminals embezzle the goods. Thus they defraud not only the Roman lady, but also the Jewish Temple for which the gifts were meant. Tiberius hears about the incident and banishes all Jews from Rome; four thousand are sent to Sardinia, infamous for its unhealthy climate and the large number of brigands; even more Jews are punished for refusing to take up arms. The motive of the whole story is finally given by Josephus himself: καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ διὰ κακίαν τεσσάρων ἀνδρων ἠλαύνοντο τῆς πόλεως [1]). This complaint also makes clear why Josephus separated the account of the banishment of the Jews from that of the suppression of the Isis cult.

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[1]) *The Sword and the Cross*, p. 29. GRANT here refers to a similar attitude ascribed to Jesus in Lk. vii 47.

A comparative study of the two accounts reveals the following basic differences:

1. In the Paulina incident, it is the honor of a Roman matron that has been violated in the most shameless way, while Fulvia, on the other hand, though of course disappointed and upset, merely suffers the loss of some material goods.

2. Paulina is led into a trap set for her by the oldest and, presumably, highest-ranking of the Isis-priests, who functions as a representative of the god Anubis himself. The criminal in the second incident is a disreputable character whose worthlessness has been recognized by the Jewish authorities and who, therefore, is a fugitive from the law. He is assisted, not by other priests, but by fellow criminals.

3. The temple of Isis finds itself richer to the amount of 50,000 drachmae as a result of the priestly deceit, while the Temple in Jerusalem is defrauded of the treasures intended for it by the Roman proselyte.

4. Paulina is told by the priest that the god has chosen her for an extraordinary honor; she is to undergo a religious experience that is available to only very few mortal women. The Jewish defrauder evidently does not make any specific promises of reward; he could have succeeded by reminding the Roman lady of the Jewish custom of tithing. Even a renegade Jew would not think of making promises of the kind given by the priest of Isis.

5. The ease with which Ide persuades the priests of Isis to cooperate in her scheme clearly indicates how corrupt is the whole moral texture of the Isis cult in Rome. Again, the Jewish religion is protected against such a charge by the absence of any official representative of its cult.

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[1]) xviii 84.

6. The punishment of the guilty persons in the Paulina incident follows strictly the rules of the law; where an exception is made, as in the case of Mundus, it tends in the direction of leniency. No wholesale persecutions take place, the investigation of the incident is restricted to the persons actually involved in it. That the temple of the goddess would be demolished is only to be expected; it had served as a hiding-place for vice. In contrast to this the punishment of the Jews appears as the uttermost injustice. A crime of not even exceedingly serious nature, committed by four individuals with police records, leads to a wholesale persecution of all the Jews in Rome. There is evidently no attempt to initiate regular court proceedings. The healthiest and strongest Jewish men are sent to certain death on Sardinia: those who (for religious reasons!) refuse to carry arms are severely punished. All the Jews are forced to leave the capital[1].

5. *Novelistic Treatment of History for Apologetic Ends.* — It is not certain whether the two incidents recorded by Josephus are historical or not. The Paulina story is definitely written in the pattern of the Hellenistic novel[2]. Its resemblences with other Hellenistic stories and the totally unrealistic ending given to it place it clearly in the realm of fiction. The Fulvia story, in comparison, is much shorter. The incident itself is plausible enough: crimes of this type have been committed at all times and in many places. The narrative becomes more doubtful when it is viewed in connection with the punishment mentioned at the end.

The pattern set by Josephus seems sufficiently clear to allow for the formulation of a hypothesis as to why he wrote the section as he did and what are the probable historical facts underlying the two accounts.

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[1] It seems to be reasonably certain that some incident like this was the cause of the persecution. Converts to Judaism were numerous in the Rome of that time: "It is strong testimony, ..., to the religious genius of the Jews (...) that, in spite of the general dislike of them, they were able to gain many proselytes from among the Romans; these belonged to all classes, from cour circles downwards, as inscriptions on tombstones in the ancient Jewish cemeteries in Rome testify". W. O. E. OESTERLY & TH. H. ROBINSON *A History of Israel* (2 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), II, 417. The account in PHILO (*Leg. ad Gaium* 24) makes a high Roman official, Seianus responsible for the banishment. On his death, Tiberius confirmed the ful religious freedom of all Jews, irrespective of their place of residence.

[2] Cf. M. BRAUN, *Griechischer Roman und hellenistische Geschichtsschreibun* ("Frankfurter Studien zur Religion und Kultur der Antike", vol. 6; Frank furt/Main: Klostermann, 1934) and *History and Romance in Graeco-Orienta Literature* (Oxford: University Press, 1938). BRAUN has done importan work in the discussion of the novelistic elements in the writings of Josephus

Josephus is faithful to his declared purpose of defending the Jewish people before a hostile Gentile world. The Romans were evidently not very particular about differentiating among the several Oriental cults that had established themselves in the capital of their empire. Just as in a later age Jews and Christians were frequently confused, so at this time Jews and adherents of Alexandrian cults were obviously grouped together; this can be seen from the records of Tacitus and Suetonius who describe the persecution of A.D. 19 as one incident.

It is exactly this inability, or unwillingness, of the Roman authorities to differentiate between "the other" Oriental cults and Judaism which forces Josephus to introduce and emphasize this distinction in his own narrative. The account is found in the *Antiquities*, a work that is dedicated to the glorification of the Jewish past. It would be slander and an insult to the Jewish people, and it would defeat the very purpose of his work, if Josephus allowed the public record to go unchallenged. He was hardly able to deny that the Jews had been involved in some kind of religious persecution under Tiberius. He could not dare to claim that this persecution had been entirely unfounded, but neither could he allow to keep up the generally held opinion that the Jews in Rome had been involved in a moral scandal.

Josephus had two possible ways open along which to proceed with his defense. We could have written a theoretical, abstract apology of his fellow-religionists. However, this would probably not have been very successful. His main argument would have had to be: it is simply unbelievable that the Jews, an ancient and noble nation, the most devout and law-abiding people of the world, could have been involved in any such affair. Whether this be true or not, the fact is that the Jewish War of 65-70 was still too fresh in the memories of the Romans to enable them *not* to believe anything bad about the Jews.

By the time of Josephus, Hellenistic historiography had developed another method of apologetic writing; the novel. M. HADAS has expressed this theory in the following words:

> Apologetics for a cult, or more properly for the cultural minority who are its votaries, is probably the earliest motivation for the ancient novel... in due course of time the 'historical' elements in these tales receded and the

erotic came to the fore, but the type continued to be used as an instrument of propaganda on behalf of rejected minorities or unpopular cults [1].

This does not necessarily imply that an author has to write a complete novel for every one of his apologetic points. When writing a larger historical work it is quite sufficient to include episodes of novelistic character which can well serve this same purpose.

Josephus also shows through the novelistic treatment of the Paulina incident that, just as Livy had done in the case of the Bacchic cult, the novel or its characteristic method may be used not only to defend a religion or cult, but also to attack it. On this point, it would seem, the theory of HADAS needs amendment.

This is the method chosen by Josephus in the case of the religious persecution of A.D. 19. He recognized that an abstract treatment of the problem on hand would be useless. He then proceeded to tell two episodes which, through their extreme contrasts within the same framework, succeed very well in achieving his purpose. When Livy discusses the suppression of the Bacchanalia in 186 B.C., the reader gets the impression that the lengthy story is included mainly for entertainment, although the moralistic tone is also very strong. Josephus, however, succeeds in a most difficult task by making full use of the literary means at his disposal: he uses them as a means to a higher end.

The discussion of one single passage is not sufficient to decide the question whether these novelistic elements are the work of Josephus himself or of his assistant. The section here examined seems to come from the pen of the "Thucydidean hack". But, as the work of M. BRAUN has already indicated, novelistic elements are found in other sections of Josephus, usually ascribed to various sources and/or assistants. Could it not be that among all this variety the novelistic element may be one indication that, after all, there is to be noticed the hand of one man in the entire work: Josephus? The question seems worthy of serious examination.

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[1] M. HADAS, *Three Greek Romances* (New York: Doubleday, 1953), p. 8.

TOWARD A QUMRAN SOTERIOLOGY

BY

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Term after term, as I attempt to lead students to an integrated understanding of diverse Biblical thought, no problem vexes me more than the proper place in this thought for the concept of the Servant of the Lord. The identity and function of this mysterious figure, as intended by the still more mysterious author of the Servant Songs, remain elusive, despite the fact that, as my mentor, Dr W. F. STINESPRING of Duke University says, "much ink has been spilt" on the subject. Was the Servant an historical figure or a speculative one? Past, present or future, from the point in time of the author? Was he an individual or corporate figure? Israel, or remnant of Israel, or refined Israel, or ideal Israel? Messiah? To what extent did the concept aid in the formation of Jesus' understanding of his own mission? To what extent (if at all [1])) did it underlay the evangelists' interpretations of the fact of Jesus? And, perhaps most intriguing, to what extent does it underlay a valid Christian concept of the *Church*?

Now, one of the prime values of the Qumran Scrolls to modern scholarship is the fact that they provide us with an ancient interpretation of the Old Testament. How the Qumran writers understood the Servant Songs may not determine for us what the author of the Songs intended, but it does provide us with a perspective view as to how the Songs were understood by some believers in antiquity much closer to the writing of the Songs, both in time and spirit, than we. This is the more important to Christians because of the fact that the Essene Community, like primitive Christianity, was an apocalyptically oriented sectarian daughter of Judiasm, departing from the mother-religion about two or three centuries before Christianity's maiden flight. There is a community of religious thought between the Essene and Christian writers in which the Essene thinking is chronologically prior. The bond of community between the two is apocalypticism. Hence the Essene writings are of great importance to the interpretation of primitive Christian thought.

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[1]) Cf. C. K. BARRETT, "The Background of Mark x 45", *New Testament Essays, Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson*, ed. by A. J. B. HIGGINS, Manchester 1959, 1-18.

As we seek to answer the questions in the first paragraph, then, the Essene interpretation of the Servant of the Lord is relevant and potentially enlightening, though not determinative. The study of the scrolls has not yet reached the stage when an exhaustive examination of so broad a topic can be undertaken. Our purpose is to indicate a valid approach and to use this approach on a limited amount of material. The thesis of this paper, then, is that the eighth column of the Manual of Discipline from Qumran (1QS) bears evidence that the Essenes considered their own organization ("church") to be the eschatological and corporate Servant of the Lord, with certain soteriological functions, but that before this eschatology could be realized, certain other soteriological functions had to be performed by a divinely designated body of men within the larger organization. The thesis is not conclusive, because at several critical points there is no supporting evidence from the rest of the Qumran material. I think, however, that it is not contradicted elsewhere, and is worthy of consideration in the larger effort to reconstruct Essene thought concerning the Servant of the Lord.

By way of making an approach to this "larger effort", some things must be said. Unfortunately, we do not (yet) possess one of the sect's characteristic "commentaries" on the texts of the Songs. The publishing of such a commentary in the future may destroy the entire thesis here-in presented, but such are the vagaries of scholarship.

Lacking such a commentary, there are nevertheless several avenues to the problem open to us. One is the variants in the texts of the Servant Songs as preserved by the Essenes. I have maintained elsewhere that the condition of the text of 1QIs^a has been influenced significantly by theological beliefs of the sect [1]. Thus, a comparison of the texts of the Songs as preserved in the Qumran literature to the Massoretic texts (regardless of which reading, in any particular case, may be superior) may be fruitful in determining the sect's interpretation of the Servant. Thus the scroll reading of משחתי

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[1] "The Functions of God as Messianic Titles in the Complete Qumran Isaiah Scroll", *Vetus Testamentum*, V (1955), 366-372.

("I anointed") for the MT reading of משחת ("marred") in Is. lii 14 indicates that the Servant was connected with Messianic speculation by the scribe of that scroll, at least [1]). There are other textual variants in the Servant Songs of 1QIs^a which are of exegetical significance, but this is not the import of the present paper, and I shall call attention to only a few in passing.

A second avenue of approach to our problem may be seen in the practice of interpreting one piece of scripture by allusions to other pieces of scripture. With regard to this practice in the so-called "Formulary of Blessings" (1QS^b), Theodor H. GASTER says,

> The interpretations rest on the device, familiar from rabbinic literature, of reading further meaning into a Scriptural text by mentally correlating it with other passages in which the same words are used in different contexts.
> Thus, the phrase, 'The Lord bless thee' is tacitly associated with such a passage as Psalm lxviii 26, where the word 'bless' occurs beside the expression, 'fountain of Israel'. This at once suggests the thought that the blessing is to consist in draughts from the Divine Fountain [2]).

The first of the Servant Songs begins with the following verse (xlii 1), translated from the MT.

Behold my Servant, I uphold him;
  my *Chosen*, my soul *delights* (in him);
I have put my spirit upon him;
  he will bring forth *judgment* to the *gentiles*.

The only significant textual variant in this verse in 1QIs^a reads *his judgment* for *judgment*, thus heightening the authority of the Servant. This verse was understood in a very harsh sense by the author of the Habakkuk Commentary. While he is commenting on a passage in Habakkuk, he leaves a very clear impression of his understanding of this Isaianic verse, in 1QpHab v, 3 ff.

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[1]) I accept W. H. BROWNLEE's interpretation of the passage (*BASOR*, 132, 1953, p. 10) to the effect that it is messianic, over the objections that have been raised (Joseph REIDER, *BASOR*, 134, 1954, 5-6, and Arie RUBINSTEIN, *Biblica*, 35, 1954, 475-479), on the grounds that, 1) The scribe's use of final *yodh* in variance with the MT is consistently deliberate, hence this example is not likely to be accidental, and, 2) The alternative interpretations of the form that have been suggested have not been paralleled elsewhere in the scroll. RUBINSTEIN's example of מתעבי in il 7 is, I think, simply a plural construct where the MT has a singular construct—indicating what I shall maintain below, *viz.* that the sect held a corporate view of the Servant.

[2]) *The Dead Sea Scriptures*, Doubleday Anchor Books, Garden city, New York, 1956, p. 36. BROWNLEE noted this practice in the Habakkuk Commentary as long ago as 1951, and included it in his pioneering study of the "hermeneutical principles" of that scroll (*Biblical Archaeologist*, xiv, 1951, 54-76).

> . . . God will not destroy his people by the hand of the gentiles, but into the hand of his *Chosen* God will give the *judgment* of the *gentiles* . . .

Whereas in the text of Is. xlii 1 משפט may be understood either in the gracious, universalistic sense of "justice", which we are accustomed to associate with the mission of the Servant, or in the harsh, narrow sense of "punishment", the interpretation of the verse implied in 1QpHab v, 3 will allow only the latter. Furthermore, the Habakkuk commentator extends the meaning and application of the Isaiah verse.

> . . . and when they (the gentiles) are chastised, there shall be punished all the *wicked* from among his people who kept his commandments in their distress.

According to this Essene writer, a mission of the Servant of Isaiah xlii 1 is to wreak the judgment of God upon the gentiles, and also to wreak this judgment upon the faithless in Israel, that is, the followers of the apostate Jerusalem priesthood and/or backsliding members of the sect.

This Isaianic verse finds interpretation also in the Manual of Discipline. An important new aspect of the Servant concept arises here, as the Servant is pictured not as an individual but as a corporate group. We read in 1QS viii, 4 ff.

> When these things have come to pass in Israel, the Council of the Community will have been established in truth as . . . the *Chosen* of (God's) *delight*, to atone for the land [1]), and to render to the *wicked* their desert.

The words *Chosen* and *delight*, and the treatment afforded the *wicked* make the "mental correlation" of this passage with Isaiah xlii 1 and 1QpHab v, 3 ff. sure, and the mission to atone for the land connects all three with the Servant Song in the fifty-second and fifty-third chapters of Isaiah. It recalls such phrases in that song as, "the Lord has laid on him the iniquity of us all"; "he was stricken for the transgression of my people (1QIs^a: *his* people)", and "when you make his soul an offering for sin." I have previously argued [2]) that in the scroll reading of Is. xlvi 10,

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[1]) Or "earth". But the exclusivism of the 1QpHab passage speaks for the narrower interpretation here.

[2]) *Op. cit.*, p. 367.

My Council shall stand,
and *he* (or *it*, MT: *I*) shall accomplish all my purpose.

we have evidence that the Council of the Community 1) was considered to be a corporate agent of God, accomplishing his purpose. 1QS viii, 6 f. makes clear what this purpose is: "to atone for the land and to render to the wicked their desert," which is to say, functions assigned by the sect to the Servant of the Lord.

The Servant-allusions in this passage have been noted by Brownlee, together with the fact that the concept of the Servant here is a corporate one 2). What I am interested in calling attention to here are two implications, 1). As is apparent from Brownlee's treatment, the Servant is identified with the Council of the Community, and suffers vicariously, 2) when certain preconditions have taken place ("When these things have come to pass").

To treat these implications in reverse order, the "preconditions" are the functions of the "twelve men and three priests", outlined in lines 1-4.

(There shall be 3) within the Council of the Community twelve men and three priests who are perfect in all which is disclosed of all the Torah 4) in order, 1) to enact 5) truth and righteousness

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1) The general meaning of the phrase "Council of the Community" was early recognized by Brownlee and others to indicate the entire body of full-fledged members of the sect, rather than some more restricted body within the sect. This recognition is now unchallenged, I think, although translators essay different renderings in order to avoid the ambiguity inherent in the literal translation. Cf. Gaster's "formal congregation of the community", and E. F. Sutcliffe's "body of the Community" ("The First Fifteen Members of the Qumran Community", *Journal of Semitic Studies*, IV (1959, 134-138).

2) "The Servant of the Lord in the Qumran Scrolls", *BASOR*, 135, 1954, p. 35.

3) There is no verb in the extant text. A nominal sentence is possible, and grammatically satisfactory, but since there is no evidence of paragraphing at this point, although an important new topic is undertaken, it is probable that a verb is to be hypothesized in the missing text at the bottom of the previous column. Most translators suggest "There shall be". P. Wernberg-Møller (*The Manual of Discipline*, E. J. Brill, Leiden 1957, p. 33) renders, "There must be". Sutcliffe (*op. cit.*) argues for "When there are". Whatever modal inferences are made, line 4 makes a future tense here highly probable.

4) That is to say, the perfection lies in Essene orthodoxy. Cf. 1QpHab vii, 1 ff. "And God said to Habakkuk to write the things that were to come upon the last generation; but the final phase of the end He did not make known to him . . . God has made known (to the Teacher of Righteousness) all the mysteries of the words of His servants the prophets." (Brownlee's translation). That which is "disclosed of all the Torah" was disclosed by the Teacher of Righteous or other authoritative teacher.

5) Wernberg-Møller (*op. cit.*) translates "so that they can enact", and

and justice and lovingkindness and humble companionship among men, and 2) to preserve faithfulness in the land through steadfast mind and broken spirit, and 3) to expiate iniquity by enacting judgment and the ordeal of a refining-furnace [1]) and 4) to walk with all in the measurement of truth and in the proportionment of time [2]).

The functions of the Fifteen are divided by the four infinitives, and may be described as the enactment within the Sect of 1) perfect ethical conduct, 2) perfect religious witness, 3) perfect expiation of guilt, and 4) perfect orthodoxy. They all stem from what the Sectarian writer considered to be perfect knowledge and performance of the requirements of Torah. It is the expiation which primarily interests us here: Within the Council of the Community there shall be a group of twelve laymen and three priests who shall be perfect in Torah, and who shall thus qualify to expiate the sins of the Community by judging and punishing sinners. When this has taken place, the Council itself will be established as the Servant of the Lord, to make atonement for its own sins and to punish the gentiles and apostate Jews.

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regards "the Community" of line 1 as the antecedent of the pronoun "they". Thus the "enacting" becomes the activity of the Community as a whole, not the Fifteen. He does this on two grounds. 1) "Council of the Community" means the entire Community, not an inner group. So it does, but in this passage "Council of the Community" is qualified by the preposition ב ("within", in Wernberg-Møller's correct interpretation: see his note 1, p. 122), so that even in his syntactical analysis the subject of the infinitive is the group *within* the Community, not the Community as a whole. 2) "Line 2 is made up of phrases which are in other passages of 1QS applied to all members of the community". This fact is noted also by Sutcliffe. But the phrases and the *enacting* of the phrases may be two different things. In any case, scripture is not wanting in examples of men who uniquely achieved what is morally demanded (but not achieved) of all believers.

As to syntactical analysis, the infinitive לעשות simply expresses purpose (GKC par. 114 f, h). Its subject is the Fifteen, and its objects are truth, righteousness etc.

[1]) Wernberg-Møller translates "by doing justice and suffering affliction" regarding these as exemplary actions. In this interpretation, the terms are judical. The Fifteen expiate sin by sentencing and punishing sinners. This maintains a consistent interpretation of the verb עשה (see preceding note). B. Otzen translates "by those who will pass judgment and bring about the affliction or trial", according to Wernberg-Møller's review of E. Nielsen and B. Otzen, *Dødehavsteksterne*, in *Revue de Qumran*. The present writer has not seen the Nielsen-Otzen volume. This understanding of בעושי was suggested in a footnote by Brownlee in his 1951 translation published as a *BASOR* supplement.

[2]) *I.e.*, to achieve orthodoxy in matters of doctrine and calender. Note the growing body of secondary literature on the question of the Qumran calender.

"To expiate" and "to atone" reflect a careful distinction in the Hebrew text. The former represents an action done on behalf of the Community by the Fifteen; the latter represents an activity of the Community itself. "To expiate" translates the *qal* of רצה, and "to atone" translates the *piʿel* of כפר. רצה basically means "to take pleasure in". When its object is a person, it can mean "to love", or "to be on good terms with". When the object is a thing, it can mean "to be pleased with", or "to accept", as a sacrifice. In any case, it implies an emotional reaction of pleasure to an object. Pleasure is seldom a reasoned thing, nor a reflex conditioned by legality. רצה is cognate with the Hebrew noun רצון, which legitimately bears the connotations of the classical Christian term "grace". When רצה has as its object "sin", as in the passage in 1QS with which we are dealing, its meaning is "to make acceptable" or "to pay off" [1]). This not in a *quid pro quo* sense, however. The purpose is simply to *please* God. For example, we read in Ex. xxvi 40-42 (cf. vss. 34 and 43),

> But if they confess their iniquity . . .; if then their uncircumcised heart is humbled and if they רצה their iniquity, then I will remember my covenant . . .

"Making iniquity acceptable" is here classified as an act similar to confessing sin and humbling one's heart, as prerequisites to forgiveness. Speaking generally, it means "to do what is necessary to please God with regard to sins which have been committed". Speaking specifically of 1QS viii, 3, it means "to cause justice to be practised and to refine offenders out of their evil". Thus the Fifteen who qualify by reason of their perfection in the will of God (Torah) expiate the iniquity of the land by taking just such measures.

We then read (viii, 4 ff.) that "When these things (i.e., the perfection of the Fifteen and the expiation of the sin of the land) are accomplished . . . the Council of the Community will be established in truth as . . . the Chosen of Grace *to atone* for the land". As we have mentioned, "atone" translates the Hebrew word כפר. כפר basically means "to cover", hence "to hide" or even "to obliterate". Its most frequent usage in the OT is as a *piʿel* meaning "to obtain pardon (i.e. covering) for" sin. In Ex. xxxii 30-32, Moses says to the people,

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[1] WERNBERG-MØLLER so translates.

> "You have sinned a great sin ... perhaps I can כפר your sin". So Moses returned to the Lord and said, "Alas, this people have sinned a great sin ... But now if thou wilt forgive their sin—and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written".

Moses' attempt at atonement consists of a seeking of pardon for the purpose of reconciliation of God and Israel, even by the offered sacrifice of himself. By analogy, when the Council of the Community atones for the land (Israel, cf. l. 4) it is seeking a reconciliation between God and the sect (the true Israel). To רצה iniquity, then, is to make God pleased with regard to sin, and to כפר is to effect, through pardon, a reconciliation with God. Both terms are soteriological, though the central figure of an individual Savior is not involved. The expiation is prior to the atonement, and must be accomplished by an agency other than the Community at large. The atonement is accomplished by the Community itself, in its corporate, or Council or "Church" aspect. Since the Community in its corporate aspect is in this passage identified with the Servant of the Lord, the implications for the Essene interpretation of the Servant Songs are as follows: The Servant was, for the Essenes, an eschatological, corporate figure; ideal Israel, with soteriological functions benefiting the Essenes alone. The question of whether the Essenes considered this eschatology to have been realized (i.e., the expiation had already taken place and the atonement is a continuous process) is open, though I should be inclined to answer no. The verbs are certainly future. SUTCLIFFE (*op. cit*), who does not interpret the passage eschatologically, regards it as describing the conditions under which the actual community at Qumran might be founded [1]), and therefore dates it from before the founding. Thus the future verbs would imply actions already completed when the document circulated at Qumran, as it certainly did.

Obviously the Manual of Discipline cannot answer for us the questions we asked at the beginning regarding the Servant of the Lord in the New Testament. Yet there are parallels. The identifications of the Servant with the entire saving and saved community recalls T. W. MANSON's controversial interpretation of the Son of Man figure in the Gospels [1]), and, in my opinion, gives Manson some deserved support, since (again in Manson's interpretation) the figures of the Son of Man and the Servant of the Lord are uniquely brought together in the teaching of Jesus as recorded in the Synoptics. The high doctrine of the "Church" implied in the assigning of soteriological functions to a group within the Council of the Community and to the Council of the Community itself is significant to the study of primitive Christian ecclesiology, particularly in view of the oft-noted parallels between the polities of the Essene and primitive Christian movements. Perhaps the "Keys of the Kingdom" and other such passages ought to be taken much more seriously, as addressed to the corporate church, than Protestants have been accustomed to take them.

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[1]) So also P. GUILBERT, "Le plan de la Règle de la Communauté", *Revue de Qumran*, I (Feb. 1959), p. 335: "'Quand cela sera réalisé en Israël' les members ... doivent partir pour s'établir au désert."

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[1]) *The Teaching of Jesus*, second edition, Cambridge 1935, p. 235. See also A. J. B. Higgins, "Son of Man", in *New Testament Essays, Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson*, Manchester 1959.

"IN THE PRESENCE OF THE ANGELS" (Luke xv 10).

BY

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There has been no unanimity in interpreting Luke xv 10: χαρὰ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Sometimes it is taken to refer to angelic joy (so, e.g., GODET, PLUMMER). This involves construing χαρὰ as 'cause of joy'; or giving ἐνώπιον the force of 'among' which it does not unmistakably bear elsewhere in the NT; or making it a reverential periphrasis, to avoid predicating joy of angels directly. There is something unnatural about each of these expedients, and the two examples of angelic rejoicing cited in STRACK-BILLERBECK (Midr. Psa. 116. 7, Tg. Psa 76. 11) are too different in form from Luke xv 10, and not sufficiently striking in parallel content, to outweigh this.

The connotation of ἐνώπιον deserves more definition. It occurs in the papyri, and so is hardly a Semitism, but NT usage is undoubtedly in line with its constant employment in the LXX for לכני 'before the face of' and בעיני 'in the eyes of' (cf. H. St. J. THACKERAY, *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, I 42 f.). In the NT, therefore, it regularly has the sense 'in the sight of', sometimes passing into 'in the judgment of'. By an extension of this it apparently means 'by authority of' in Rev. xiii 12, 14; xix 20, and has a quasi-instrumental force in Luke xii 6, Acts x 31 and Rev. xvi 19. These latter all occur with verbs of remembering, as applied to God. (In the Western text of Luke iii 7 there, is perhaps a fully instrumental use not parallelled elsewhere in the NT). Luke is the only synoptist to employ the term (23 times, excluding the variant just noted, in the Gospel, and a further 13 times in Acts). Two cases, mentioned above, relate to 'remembrance before' (i.e. by) God. Of the remainder, one relates to worship before (i.e. accompanied by the physical act) the devil, nine to the sight of or presence of God, two to the Lord's incarnate presence, and twenty to the sight of or presence of men. The remaining two are Luke xii 9; xv 10, where we have ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων, and, unless there are strong reasons to the contrary, it is natural to translate, 'in the sight of, or presence of, the angels'. And the reference could only be to God Himself.

It is often suggested, however, that 'the angels' is itself only a reverent periphrasis for God (cf., e.g. J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, ET 107). Dalman, who has influenced many who hold this view, seems to have recognized that, as Israel Abrahams stated more pointedly (*Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels* II 192 ff.), there is no known Jewish parallel for such a usage. Consequently he suggested that Luke substituted this for some less intelligible periphrasis in his source, such as 'before heaven' (cf. xv 7).

Support for this is found in the fact that, whereas Mt x 32 f. has ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, the Lukan parallel has ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ (Luke xii 8), and ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ (Luke xii 9). Here, Dalman urges, Luke has substituted 'the angels' for what Matthew represents as 'my Father in heaven', and the likelihood of his having done similarly at xv 10 is increased (*Words of Jesus*, 209 ff.).

Such a process, however, may be too readily assumed. A saying similar to Mt x 32 f. || Luke xii 8 f. occurs at Mk viii 38, and there the ideas of the Father and the angels stand combined. Is it not conceivable, therefore, that in this saying Matthew and Luke have preserved different elements in the tradition?

A further difficulty is Luke's use of ἐνώπιον. This, as we have seen, is normally in the sense 'in the sight of'. Dalman easily demonstrates that in later Hebrew and in the NT periphrastic constructions with 'before' are frequently used, especially where memory or will would otherwise be predicated of God directly: but he produces no clear case of ἐνώπιον being used in this sense, *except with verbs of remembering*. Mt. xviii 14, e.g., provides a clear example of 'before' to express volition, but it is ἔμπροσθεν that is used.

But even laying this aside, the interpretation involves the cumbersomeness of two separate circumlocutions. For if the considerations just advanced are invalid, and ἐνώπιον is regarded as an indirect way of attributing joy, we must remember that the reading is not ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ but ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων. Luke is not afraid to say ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ when such is his intention;

and if 'in heaven' in *v* 7 echoes the same periphrasis in Luke's source, why should it become less intelligible by *v* 10?

The simplest reading of Luke xv 10 would seem best. It is not simply that the angels will rejoice over a repentant sinner, nor simply that God will rejoice over him: but that God will rejoice before the angels. This is supported by another consideration. A striking feature of the parables in Luke xv is the social nature of the joy of the finders: the owner of the sheep and of the coin call their neighbours to celebrate, just as the father of the prodigal son sets jubilation afoot throughout his household. Perhaps, then, 'in the presence of the angels' in *v* 10 is a delicate expansion and interpretation of 'in heaven' in *v* 7. Such is the joy of God over the sinner's return that the angels of His court stand to Him like the neighbours called to an earthly celebration: the ministering spirits witness and share in the joy.

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CONCERNING THE JAUBERTIAN CHRONOLOGY OF THE PASSION

BY

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In a recent review [1]) of Mdlle JAUBERT's book "La Date de la Cène" (Paris 1957) George OGG refers to statements in the Book of Jubilees to the effect that Eve was created on a Friday, and entered the Garden of Eden on the eightieth day, which was therefore a *Tuesday*, so that, since the author of the book reckoned the beginning of Jubilees, and hence of the Jubilees Calendar, from the day when Adam and Eve lived together, this must have been Tuesday. But actually Jub. iii 9 reads [2]): "but his wife they brought in on the eightieth day, and *after this* she entered into the Garden of Eden", and iii 12 reads: "and *when she had completed these eighty days*, they brought her into the Garden of Eden". Obviously it was on the eighty-first day that she entered, a *Wednesday*, and OGG's objection falls to the ground.

So also in Mk. xiv 1 and Mt. xxvi 2 "*after* two days" must mean "on the third day". Hence the anointing at Bethany on Saturday evening, according to the new Chronology, points to Tuesday evening for the Paschal Meal which Jesus ate. This use of μετα with the accusative is also seen in Mt. xvii 1, Mk. ix 2, where "*after* six days", in accordance with Lk. ix 28 "after these things about eight days", must mean "on the seventh day". Thus another objection by OGG falls to the ground. Moreover, OGG's dismissal of the Didascalia evidence as well as that of Epiphanius and Victorinus is far too cavalierly to be convincing.

Again, there is no suggestion by JAUBERT that Jesus *must* have adhered to the Jubilees Calendar, only He *may* have done so. Since the Book of Jubilees, as OGG admits, was written in the second century B.C., there is every likelihood of its calendar being known to Jesus and His circle, for it was plainly in use by the Essenes and the Qumrân sectaries.

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[1]) George OGG on Mdlle. JAUBERT: *La Date de la Cène*: Novum Testamentum III (Jan. 1959) pp. 149-160.

[2]) R. H. CHARLES: *The Book of Jubilees* (SPCK 1917) pp. 47 f.

There are certain considerations to be borne in mind by all students of Biblical literature. First, it is clear that the writers were more concerned with recording facts and events, than in giving detailed evidence as to time, place and mode of happening. This is evident in the stories of Creation and the Fall, and in the accounts of the Red-Sea and Jordan crossings and the fall of Jericho. In Ex. xxxii 24 Aaron avers that he cast gold ornaments into the fire and "there came out this calf"! The *how* of the transformation of ear-rings into the molten calf is left to the imagination. So too with "the fire of the Lord" flung at rebels by Moses, and at the "fifties" by Elijah. In all these instances there is an *abbreviation of statement*, so contrary to our modern demand for exact information. Is it to be wondered at that the Gospels too, founded as they were on oral tradition of the reminiscences of the companions of Jesus, should show a like abbreviation of statement? They were written to be read out aloud to Christian congregations, and the various pericopes had of necessity to be adapted to the needs and patience of the hearers, and, in the case of the Passion, not too long in arriving at the climax of the Crucifixion. In all telling of stories there must needs be the omission of many unimportant details, and without a great deal of abbreviation history could not be got into any one book, or even set of volumes. It is the task of the historian to select the essential items, and present them as a continuous narrative. Difference of emphasis will be made by different reporters, as in the Bible by the E and J history writers, by the various ritual codes and sets of commandments, by the contrast of Kings with Chronicles, and by the Synoptic and Johannine records.

But we, who live today in an enquiring and scientific age, demand details of time and place and mode of action, and the continuous and harmonious unfolding of history. So in the Gospel story we want to know precisely what happened in the Last Week of the earthly life of Jesus. The synoptists suggest to us that Jesus kept the Passover and instituted the Sacrament on Tuesday evening, after which He was arrested late that same might. But John plainly indicates that Jesus was condemned and crucified on the following Friday, the Eve of the official Passover. JAUBERT maintains that there were two different days appointed for keeping the Passover, the one on the fifteenth of Nisan according to the Sadducean lunar calendar of the Jerusalem priesthood, the other on the fifteenth of Nisan according to the Essene, Jubilees, Qumrân solar calendar. The former might fall on any day of the week, according to the decision of the Temple calendrists, but the latter fell always on a Wednesday. JAUBERT further suggests that in that particular year these two days fell in the same week, the former on Saturday, "that sabbath was an high day", and the latter on Wednesday, so that according to the official calendar Friday evening was the appointed time for the Paschal Meal, whereas according to the sectarian calendar Tuesday evening was the appointed time. This is a real possibility, though with our present lack of knowledge of the comparative relationship of the two calendars the fact of the coincidence of the two days in the same week cannot be proven. But OGG's rejection of the Jaubertian chronology simply because this point cannot be "scientifically" proved strikes one as high-handed, unhelpful and unscientific. For all advances in the Natural Sciences are the result of the making and testing of hypotheses, which are not, and never should be, rejected because not immediately proven. The said chronology does indeed harmonise the Passion accounts in a wonderful manner, and, until OGG or anyone else has a better one to displace it, must rightly hold the field. The onus lies on OGG or others to produce a satisfactory counter-hypothesis. It is more important to build than to destroy.

Four great difficulties face the Thursday evening dating of the Supper and Arrest. They are

(1) The dilemma that either the Synoptics are in error or the Fourth Gospel. They cannot both be right.

(2) The blankness of Holy Wednesday.

(3) The impossibility of compressing all the relevant Gospel events into the space of nine hours.

(4) The improbability that the mob, the soldiers, the priests and the judges were up all night, and available for duty at the most unusual hours.

All these difficulties disappear with the acceptance of the New Chronology, which alone fits the facts.

Secondly, it must be borne in mind that historical fact-finding, in the interests of truth, has nothing to say to the Church's Liturgical Practice. For the latter is based on the practical and pastoral requirements of Christian worshippers. The tendency to shorten the days of commemoration of Christ's sufferings is very natural and human, and went to such a pitch, until recently, that in the West the Easter ceremonies followed by the First Mass of Easter were celebrated early on Saturday morning instead of at mid-night. For after all, while we do well to meditate on His sufferings and death in the past, He is reigning in glory all the time. Liturgical dates rarely follow historical dates, and even Easter can only very occasionally happen to coincide with the calendrical date of the Event. We do not know the exact day of Christ's Birth, which some think must have been in April, but the Church decided to commemorate it on an old Roman public holiday, Dec. 25th, and that has many practical advantages. In all cases of this nature the Church is no slave of the literal date, but of the spiritual message.

Lastly, is it so incredible that Jesus, the Lord of the Sabbath, and the rejector of many artificial restrictions, should anticipate the official Passover by three days?

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